THE New Republic

An Editorial:

"The Reporter"

and Stevenson

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The State of the Union

Sen. Paul Douglas

Leon Keyserling

Gen. Thomas Phillips

Sen. Wayne Morse

Boris Shishkin

Randolph Paul

Philip Perlman

Richard Lester

Haldore Hanson

and others

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JANUARY 16, 1956

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Washington Wire .... T.R.B.

As I was listening on the air
I heard a man who wasn't there,
He wasn't there again today—
I wonder if he means to stay?

Last week Ike's State of the Union message was delivered while he wasn't there. As in the poem, the invisible man still dominated things. And we can report that the latest Message is a fine, hopeful document like its predecessors, all three of which we heard Ike deliver, as we leaned far over the dusty arch of the clock in the House of Representatives gallery to look down on his pink bald head.

According to our smudged copy of the Message of February 2, 1953, the members of Congress interrupted the new President 55 times with applause in the hour's delivery. That was a good vintage year. What really stopped the show was Ike's announcement, "I am, therefore, issuing instructions that the Seventh Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China." Ah, what a moment!

We can remember Eisenhower's look of fine, calm simplicity as he exploded this sensation. Republicans rose and yelled. Here was a man who knew the answers—no more Truman shilly-shallying. He didn't stop there. He promised 'a new, positive foreign policy," as Dulles electrified America with his "massive retaliation" warning. Ike lifted the GOP almost to hysteria in 1953 by promising prompt disclosure of "secret understandings" in international documents, which was a jab at the Yalta documents, and on the domestic front he twice denounced what he called the "planned deficits" of the previous Administration. The farmers—? There was to be "full parity of income" for them. Everyone came away from that speech feeling fine.

The 1954 address was interrupted 50 times by applause. Things were hopeful then, too. We guess they always will be under Ike. The big lift in 1954 was the way we had out-maneuvered the Soviets. As Ike put it: "There has been, in fact, a great strategic change in the world during the past year—the precious intangible, the initiative, is becoming ours." That was fine, too. Congressmen patted each other and applauded. Now that we had the initative, Ike said, we must keep it. Things were going so splendidly abroad, he reported, that we could cut down our foreign aid program —a "gratifying evidence," as he explained it, of just how successful the program had been (applause). After hearing Ike announce a thing like that nobody was going to quibble over his request that Congress raise the statutory debt limit. But we made a marginal note on our copy of the speech that nobody applauded this.

The third Annual Message was a year ago. This was a bit quieter and more subdued because voters for some inscrutable reason had put the Democrats in power. But it was another fine speech. It reported milestones all over the world and bracketed these with lofty moral reflections. There was one conspicuous silence—there was no reference to Stassen's recently proposed "Marshall Plan for Asia," and indeed there was no reference to economic assistance at all except tariff cutting. The fact was that in 1955 the Administration was pursuing its economy drive and skimping on defense and overseas aid.

And that brings us down to 1956. Well, here is another excellent speech. But it seems we may not have won the initiative from Moscow after all. All these victories have been achieved over the Soviets, of course, but it seems they are such bounders that they have been changing the rules on us. We have loads of military alliances now all over the world, and bases, but it seems there is a competition of good will of another sort going on. So what we need now is "assurance of continuity of economic assistance." Which, of course, means foreign aid.

Put in a little less abstruse way what has happened is this. There have to be big reserve "pipelines" for foreign projects, both economic and military. It is always possible to achieve what look like a "saving" by letting these pipelines get low, and it makes budget balancing easy. But just as our pipeline were getting quite low the unspeakable Russians began feeding out their own foreign aid, and now suddenly we have to reconsider the whole matter.

And so in 1956 we are back again about where we were when the little chap named Truman left office. Nobody remembers that silly episode of the Seventh Fleet today, thank goodness. We guess Ike isn't quite so sure now that America has got the "initiative," and it seems to our ingenuous eyes that his "new, positive foreign policy" looks a lot like Acheson's. Finally, the "continuity of foreign assistance" takes us back somewhere; wait a bit, what was it —why yes, of course, the old Marshall Plan.

We don't criticize these things. We strongly hope Ike gets his foreign aid program and that he has the strength and valor to fight for it. As to the tone of a typical Eisenhower speech, we love to be buoyed up by optimism and loft moral precepts. There is something for everybody in this latest Address; make no doubt of it, it is a first-rate election year document. It is all expressed in such general terms that anything the Democrats propose later on, Ike can say he thought of first.

Notes: Our guess is that the budget will show a $2 or $3 billion surplus we'll know soon, and then we can talk about tax cuts . . . Our hunch is that tax cuts will be voted, but Ike has maneuvered the Democrats into a position where if they cut revenues and a deficit follows, he can blame them. . . . We aren't going to buy any Ford stock, not at first anyway; the market may go higher but it looks to us awfully high already. . . . Incidentally, we wonder about the ethics of issuing non-voting Ford stock; there will be two kinds voting and non-voting, so that although the Ford family will own only 12 per cent of the total they will have 40 per cent of the voting power or far more than is needed for control. . . . All signs point to an early Communist attack on Quemoy and Matsu; the US won't defend the islands for which we once "unleashed" the Seventh Fleet.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

"Senator" Sourwine Investigates the Press

THE POWER of Congressional committees to investigate is a limited power. "It cannot be used," the Supreme Court has declared, "to inquire into affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose. Nor does it extend to an area in which Congress is forbidden to legislate."

And Congress *is* forbidden, by the First Amendment, to pass any law "abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." The propriety, therefore, not to say the constitutionality, of the current Congressional investigation of the press is questionable.

And yet Senator McCarthy for one was rarely inhibited by propriety or legal limitations on his powers of investigation. He grilled James Wechsler about the policies of the *New York Post;* he hired Harvey Matusow to investigate Communist infiltration of the press. Sen. Pat McCarran was another whose interest in the press was excited by the opposition of the *New York Times,* among other newspapers, to his legislative projects. McCarran's protégé is Julien Sourwine, counsel and guiding brain of the Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security. Under his direction the Committee is plainly engaged in investigating the press.

This, of course, Mr. Sourwine denies. In the soft-spoken, deferential, almost unctuous style made popular by Sergeant Joe Friday, Sourwine informed defiant witnesses in the three-day hearings that began in Washington on January 4 that the Committee's sole purpose was to inform itself on the international Communist conspiracy. The witnesses were doubtful and with some reason. In executive sessions held in New York in early December, Sourwine showed little interest in current Communist activity, but pursued the careers of known anti-Communists back for 20 years or more in an effort to establish a relationship with one paper—the *New York Times.* Some witnesses gave all the meagre information they possessed from a remote past; others balked. Without consulting all his Committee members Sourwine then subjected them, indiscriminately, to the humiliation of public hearings.

The saddest case was Clayton Knowles, a reporter who belonged to a Communist cell between 1937 and 1939. His party work was restricted to the Newspaper Guild. He broke, and subsequently told his story to the FBI and to the Committee in executive session. Nothing in his testimony could shed light on the present operation or influence of the Communist Party. The conclusion was inescapable that he was placed on the stand because he is a *New York Times* reporter, and it was reinforced by Sourwine's insinuation that Knowles was transferred from the Washington bureau of the *Times* because he had co-operated with the FBI.

Congressional inquiry, according to Judge Hofstadter of the New York State Supreme Court, "is improper when its avowed or primary purpose is to condemn or to gather evidence for future prosecution." Sourwine, with the approval of Senators Jenner, Welker and Eastland, who sat beside him, proceeded nonetheless to stage prosecutions, free of the restraints required in court. "Do you know," he demanded suddenly of one witness, "that one Marcella Hitschmannova, now connected with the United Nations, was a courier for the Communist Party?" Some time later he demanded of the same witness, "Did you pilot a courier for the Communist International throughout Latin and South America?" The witness protested the impropriety of the charge and denied the allegation, but before millions of newspaper readers it was set forth, as evidence of his disloyalty to the United States.

Thirty-eight witnesses from the press, radio and television world were summoned before the Committee in its secret New York hearings. Thirty of these were present or former employees of the *New York Times.* One in three was called in public hearings in Washington. The majority began by citing the first amendment to the Constitution, only to be told by Senator Eastland, the Subcommittee Chairman, "There is no point in citing the First Amendment because it will be overruled." Eastland, of course, was bluffing; he would have little chance of gaining Senatorial let alone Court backing for a contempt citation based on the First Amendment. For this reason perhaps he almost encouraged witnesses to plead the Fifth Amendment. A number did, to Eastland's obvious satisfaction. But others, advised by respected attorneys, stood fast on the First Amendment, and on the Subcommittee's lack of jurisdiction. One such witness was Robert Shelton who had been summoned, he insisted, as a result of mistaken identity.

> If as a result of my being called here [he told the Subcommittee] I am put under mental pressure to change one word in material that I edit, an abridgment of freedom of the press will have taken place. Demanding to know what is going on in the mind of a newspaper man without inhibiting a free press is impossible. Your question acts as a form of "prior restraint" on publishing, telling newspaper executives who should or should not be on their staffs.

This is the heart of the issue, and for the publishers the challenge is immediate. The *New York Daily News* saw fit to fire its employee, William Price, who cited the First Amendment and who maintained that as a newspaperman, holding no government position, and no position of public trust, his beliefs were his own concern. The attitude of the *New York Times* for weeks remained in doubt.

First of the *Times* men to be called was Melvin Barnet, a copy reader identified as a onetime member of the Communist Party in the earlier testimony of Winston Burdett. Barnet claimed the privilege of the Fifth Amendment and was fired by the *New York Times.* Its publishers seemed then to be moving toward a policy of automatically firing

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any employee who cited the Fifth Amendment, and further, of promising to the Subcommittee its full co-operation.

Such a policy would have been disastrous for the *Times* and tragic for the nation. It would have mocked the ringing editorials in which the *Times* has praised the Fifth Amendment as a bulwark of American liberty. And it would have sent the *Times* as a lamb to be slaughtered by the Committee. It would have left the solitary spokesman for Constitutional rights on the Subcommittee, Sen. Thomas Hennings of Missouri, in the intolerable position of defending the good name of an institution which lacked the spirit to defend itself.

At the last moment the *Times* pulled itself together. Its lead editorial on the second day of the hearings declared that the *Times* would not knowingly employ a Communist Party member in its news or editorial departments. It added:

> In the case of those employees who have testified to some Communist association in the past or who have pleaded the Fifth Amendment for reasons of their own it will be our policy to judge each case on its own merits. . . . We do not believe in the doctrine of irredeemable sin. . . . Long after the last Congressional Committee has learned that it cannot tamper successfully with a free press, [the *New York Times*] will still be speaking for the men who make it and only for the men who make it, and speaking without fear or favor, the truth as it sees it.

Another Dixiecrat Party in '56?

WORD SPREAD in Congressional cloakrooms on opening day that Northern Democrats have decided to force a showdown on anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills, and that election year 1956 will see the biggest donnybrook over civil rights since the Dixiecrats jumped on Harry Truman in 1948.

One border-state Democrat who tried hard to find a compromise admitted ruefully on opening day: "I negotiated with Southern leaders during December on a moderate civil-rights bill which Southerners would support. Such a bill is the only way to take the grandstand play away from Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D, NY) and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. But I have found no solid middle ground. The chance is about four to one that this year we will be forced to choose between Dixiecrats and the NAACP." Other Representatives conceded the correctness of this analysis.

The clash is probably inevitable.

For one reason, a series of Negro murders and economic persecutions in Mississippi has literally turned the Delta area into two armed camps—one white, one black — with general rioting and bloodshed possible this winter. The national press has ignored the Mississippi reports headlined daily in the Negro press in large Northern cities where the Negro population is now demanding action by the new Congress.

Also, on December 28 representatives of white supremacy organizations in 12 Southern states met at Memphis, Tenn., to form a new Dixiecrat body calling itself the Federation for Constitutional Government. The Chairman is John U. Barr, the same New Orleans industrialist who led in organizing the Dixiecrat political party in 1948. The new Federation will make its power felt in Congress.

On the other side, Rep. Powell announced in late December formation of a nonpartisan civil-rights bloc to press anti-lynch and anti-poll tax bills in the new Congress. He estimated bloc membership between 150 and 200, including most members of both parties north of the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Rockies.

Background for the present civil-rights struggle begins with the first Supreme Court school segregation decision in May, 1954. White Citizens Councils were organized that year in Mississippi to combat the court decision, and have now spread to Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, the Carolinas, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Associated Press Correspondent Sam Jackson sent a dispatch from Jackson, Mississippi, on September 9, 1954, recording his interviews with leaders of the Mississippi Councils. Several predicted bloodshed and . . . "One said 'A few killings would be the best thing for the state just before the people vote on a proposed constitutional amendment empowering the Legislature to abolish public schools'." Within 12 months Mississippi has had those "few killings."

Near midnight of May 7, 1955, the Rev. George W. Lee was driving home in his town of Belzoni, Miss. when there were two shotgun blasts from a passing car, and Lee slumped over his steering wheel with his jaw shot away. Lee was the first Negro to register to vote in Humphreys County and had urged others to register. No arrests were made.

On August 13, 1955, in broad daylight on Saturday afternoon, Negro Lamar Smith was shot dead in front of the courthouse at Brookhaven, Miss. He had been active in getting Negro voters. A grand jury failed to indict three men arrested.

On August 28, 1955, the Chicago boy Emmett Till, 14, was taken at gunpoint

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from his relative's home in Money, Miss., was beaten, shot to death, and thrown into the Tallahatchie River

An investigator for a New York civil liberties organization, who spent the month of December in Mississippi, reported that he was followed everywhere in the Delta country by armed white men, that he found Negro leaders also armed. Economic reprisals against Negro leaders, he said, are proving even more effective than the killings. Banks controlled by members of the white Citizens Councils have cancelled loans to Negroes totalling $1.5 million against 1955 crops.

Columnist Murray Kempton investigated economic reprisals at Yazoo City, Miss. On August 6, 1955, 53 Negroes signed a petition for admission of their children into the white school. The *Yazoo City Herald* gave over its entire back page to a list of the 53 names, and every Negro on the list who worked for a white man lost his job.

The 100 civil-rights bills pending before the new Congress include anti-lynch bills like S 900 and HR 3563, which would apply specifically to the three recent Mississippi murders. If such a law had been on the books, the FBI would have investigated, trial would have occurred in a federal court away from the scene of the crime, and the jury would be drawn from a wider area. At present the federal government holds it has no jurisdiction.

Voting bills like HR 3436 and S 903 would specify the right of Negroes to vote in primaries, the only elections that really count in most Southern states.

Abolition of the poll tax in Mississippi and four other states would be accomplished by HR 1600 and S 901.

HR 3305 would prohibit the use of federal construction funds for segregated schools, and Representative Powell has threatened to add this provision as an amendment to any school construction bill submitted.

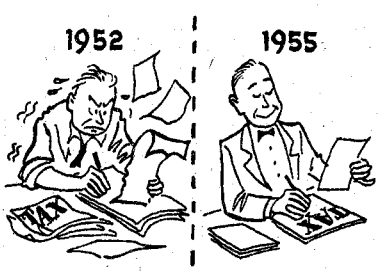
If any bill among the 100 is passed by the Congress in effective form, a degree of harmony may prevail at the Democratic convention next August. But if all bills are stopped by the maneuvering of Southerners, sectional bitterness within the Democratic Party will grow into another civil rights platform fight and might easily lead to another Dixiecrat ticket in 1956.

WHAT TIME IS IT?

One of the journalistic consequences of our harried age has been the rise in the circulation of the weekly newsmagazines. To those who wish to keep up with the world, but can't bother to plow through the newspapers, these magazines offer a week's events boiled down into one easily-digested serving. And they are influential. As *Time* (cir. 2 million) modestly admits in its advertisements, "America's leading educators, presidents of business corporations, members of Congress, the top men in practically every field vote *Time* their favorite magazine. . . They depend on its accuracy."

The casual reader cannot check the accuracy or objectivity of *Time*, dependent as he may be upon them. His memory rarely stretches back past last week's issue. However, since *Time* has bound its back issues and put them on reserve in the library, its objectivity can be examined. We have decided to do this by comparing *Time's* reporting of the same men and the same events during the Democratic Administration of 1946-52, and the Republican Administration of 1952-55.

Take the income tax, an event of



annoying recurrence. The "average American," of whom *Time* writes with great apparent familiarity, was bent over by his tax burden during the Democratic years. Thus: *"This week once again, the American taxpayer . . . was working over his income-tax return. He did not do the job happily. . . . The blow, in full and crushing measure, now lands each March 15 on the chin of a fellow named John Q."* (March 10, 1952).

But in 1955: *". . . 60 million Americans have by this week signed their 1954 income-tax forms. . . . They did this, wonderful to tell, without riots or protest. . . . It has become more and more unfashionable to criticize the income-tax level."* (April 18, 1955).

Or look at the periodic reports on the economic health of the nation:

April 2, 1951 (Democratic Administration): *"Never in US history had the cost of living been so high. Between January 15 and February 15 the consumer's price index jumped 1.3 percent to 183.8."*

July 4, 1955 (Republican Administration. Consumer price index: 192.3) *"After a considerable shift in domestic economic policy the US is more prosperous than ever before."*

The sudden glow which accompanied the Republican Administration even transformed personalities. George E. Allen, when a government official in the Truman Administration, was worked over as follows:

"For 18 years, roly-poly George E. Allen bobbed around Washington like a pneumatic rubber hose." (October 16, 1950). *"Last week . . . the President* [Truman] *eased his croniest crony, George E. Allen, into the Board of Directors of* [the] *Reconstruction Finance Corporation."* (January 28, 1946). *"George is all the more remarkable because, to the naked eye, he is a clown."* (August 12, 1946).

But behold: *"Last week . . . the President* [Eisenhower] *chatted quietly with . . . golfing companion George E. Allen, Washington lawyer and friend of Presidents."* (December 14, 1954).

Time's technique is perhaps best revealed in its weekly column on the Presidency. Its reports on Presidential behavior are able to rise above objectivity and perceive distinctions where none are apparent. Thus, *"President Truman flapped open his leather notebook, and began in his usual flat tone to read his message to Congress on the State of the Union. When he finished 45 minutes later, he had made little news."* (January 21, 1952). However, *"President Eisenhower's 1955 State of the Union Speech had sweep and calm and balance,"* and although *"it elaborated the obvious, perhaps that was precisely what the nation needed."* (January 17, 1955).

The casual observer might also have failed to detect the difference in the way each President handled the question of whether he would seek a sec-

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WHAT TIME IS IT?

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ond term: *"The subject of Harry Truman's 1952 intentions came up again in his weekly press conference. The President wasn't saying, just acting deliberately mysterious. It has become an unprofitable inquiry and a stale joke."* (July 23, 1951).

". . . he [Eisenhower] *has skillfully refused to commit himself on 1956."* (January 24, 1955). *"Adroitly, he fielded questions about a second term."* (July 11, 1955). *"At the President's news conference last week, his 1956 intentions seemed to be on the mind of almost every one of 188 reporters present . . . both the questioners and the answerer were obviously enjoying the banter."* (March 14, 1955).

Where all else fails, *Time* can find a difference in the motive: *"About May 1, after a month back at his desk in the White House, the President will begin a slow trip westward. . . . Officially, the trip will be billed as non-political, an ancient device whereby a President can pay his expenses from his $40,000 travel allowance instead of from the party treasury."* (March 20, 1950).

"From time to time, the President of the United States must travel around the country. . . . Last week, President Eisenhower annouced one of the most intensive tours since he assumed office. First stop this week: West Point . . . University Park, Pa. . . . Washington . . . San Francisco . . . and a speaking tour of Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont." (June 13, 1955).

What bothered *Time* about the Fair Deal was its omnibus character. *"In this best of all Democratic worlds he* [Truman] *had something for everybody. For the businessman, he had his new program of government loan insurance and other aids to small business. For the farmer and consumer, he had the Brannan Plan."* (May 22, 1950). *"For everyone else, there was a whole grab-bag of social and economic promises."* (January 18, 1948). One might expect that *Time* would be similarly annoyed when President Eisenhower proposed such familiar Fair Deal items as *". . . lower tariffs . . . technical assistance . . . public works . . . highways . . . public housing . . . strengthened health services . . . alleviation* [of] *the shortage of schoolrooms . . . increase in the minimum wage . . . higher pay scale for postal employees . . .* [amendment of] *the McCarran Act to eliminate injustices and discrimination."* (January 17, 1955).

But once again, *Time* was able to spot the difference: *"Through the departmentalized details of his* [Eisenhower's] *proposals runs a clear, consistent thread, joining each fact and each measure with all the others. The thread is the general good. He has not thrown together a hodge-podge of group interests. Every proposal seems to be tested by the standard of the whole nation's interest."* (January 18, 1954).

It is perhaps arguable whether a weekly has any more right than a daily to editorialize in its news columns. But *Time* does not editorialize outright. Instead, with what must be a great expenditure on interviews and questionnaires, it tells its readers what "the people" think:

"In the eyes of most US citizens, Harry Truman's administration had bogged down in ludicrous futility." (June 3, 1946).

"The public had an impression of a petulant, irascible President who stubbornly protected shoddy friends, a man who has grown too touchy to make judicious decisions, who failed to give the nation any clear leadership in these challenging times." (April 23, 1951).

"They saw Ike, and liked what they saw. . . . They liked him for his strong, vigorous manner of speech . . . and for an overriding, innate kindliness and modesty. But most of all, they liked him in a way they could scarcely explain. They liked Ike because, when they saw him and heard him talk, he made them proud of themselves and all the half-forgotten best that was in them and in the nation." (June 16, 1952).

It is comforting to know that the educators, corporation presidents, Congressmen and others who depend on *Time*, can draw their opinions from such a clear, pure fountain of fact. Makes the rest of us feel more at ease.

MILTON S. GWIRTZMAN

(This ribbing of *Time* was by a former *Crimson* editor, now at Yale, reprinted from the *Crimson*, Nov. 4.)

The Texaco Team

IN the early Eisenhower years *The New Republic* voiced the notion that businessmen-in-government could not understand the phrase "conflict of interest." It started perhaps when General Motors President Charles E. Wilson told the Senate that what is good for GM is good for the government. Then Air Force Secretary Talbott said he could see no wrong in soliciting business for his private firm from his office in the Pentagon. A lesser example was the Air Force General—a reserve officer on leave from the Texas Company—who could not understand the fuss when he made petroleum procurement decisions for the government. Well, *The NR* was wrong and we apologize, especially to the Texas Company. They knew all the time about "conflict of interest." A *New Republic* reader has sent us a memorandum of the Texas Co., addressed to *all* employees by Vice President J. S. Worden, warning them that they must not own any stock, lease or share "in any petroleum company or activity which might come in conflict with the interests of the Texas Co." The Oil, Gas and Atomic Union has threatened a strike if the Company attempts to discipline any union member for buying a share of stock in say, Phillips Petroleum. The Union is carrying its complaint to the Chairman of the Senate Anti-Monopoly Subcommittee, the President of the NY Stock Exchange, and the Managing Partner of Merrill, Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Beane.

Ike, the Candidate

ATTORNEY GENERAL Herbert Brownell, the President's expedient fixer, told a closed meeting of the Republican National Finance Committee at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C., on January 5: "President Eisenhower will be our candidate and you gentlemen will be pleased with the ticket."

Thirty minutes later several members of the Finance Committee emerged from the meeting to report they raised $8 million and "with Ike as candidate we will get more." Brownell did not say how he knew the President would run, who the Vice Presidential candidate is that the audience "would be pleased with," or whether money raising had anything to do with the timely announcement. His prediction was unqualified.

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EDITORIAL: *"The Reporter" and Adlai Stevenson*

The Waiting Game

THE CAMPAIGN to make Adlai E. Stevenson the 35th President of the United States is on its way. In union halls, in student dormitories, in the newly opened offices of the Stevenson for President Committee, the energy of thousands of Americans is being brought to the campaign.

But the Editor's office of *The Reporter* magazine, at 136 East 57th Street, New York, is haunted by a spirit of reluctance. The reverberations of that reluctance will not bring down the building at 221 South LaSalle Street in Chicago where the Stevenson headquarters is housed. And yet *The Reporter* is a good and important magazine, and one of the few which endorsed Stevenson in 1952. Thus, difficult as they are to unravel, *The Reporter's* reasons for holding its editorial gears in neutral are worth examining.

They are set forth in the December 29 issue of *The Reporter* in the form of an Open Letter from the Editor to Governor Stevenson (how many more must the poor man receive!). Editor Max Ascoli grants at once that the Governor is alone among Presidential possibilities. Stevenson, he concedes, is a "wise man," a "smart politician," "moderate, witty, urbane," a "front runner with no competition in sight," whose "rightful claim to national leadership" is proved once again by his "advocacy of moderation."

In 1952, according to Mr. Ascoli, Stevenson was a "living symbol" who generated fanatical enthusiasm among his supporters. Today, according to *The Reporter*, things are different:

> Last time the fission of the Eisenhower myth projected a tragic light on you—a light that probably magnified your native glow. Those were nightmarish days. . . . This time, Governor, you are on your own. You must generate your own radiance.

But *is* Stevenson, or should he be, *that* alone? One man, after all, cannot make a political movement. Some leaders of opinion, aside from Stevenson himself, should be willing to strike a match or two to illuminate the dark. *The Reporter*, among a handful of publications, has the capacity to throw some light of its own on the choices available to the voter in 1956. *The Reporter* was certain that Stevenson was the right man in 1952 when he himself was reluctant. Now when he is certain, reluctance is claimed by *The Reporter* for its own. "Reluctance is not a commodity on which you have a corner, Governor," Mr. Ascoli reminds the embattled candidate, an aside likely to produce some effect, if not the intended one, on Mr. Stevenson's "native glow."

"There are many reasons for indecisiveness" toward Stevenson's candidacy, continues Mr. Ascoli. For example, some politicians are waiting until they can get the highest return for their support. "*The Reporter*, too, finds itself among those inclined to wait and see."

Mr. Ascoli's first reason for waiting and seeing is simple. "You don't seem to be in much need of help," he informs Stevenson, "considering you are so far in the lead." This last will come as heartening news to Stevenson, who might have supposed from reading all public-opinion polls that he is running well behind at least two possible Republican candidates. It will come also as a surprise to his advisers who feel, now, in need of the kind of help that independent journals of opinion can provide.

One wonders whether Stevenson would be more worthy of *The Reporter's* backing were he now nearer the bottom of the list of candidates? Or whether FDR was unworthy of support when he seemed so far ahead in 1936? Is the ancient gibe to be revived that liberals will rally only to the cause of the underdog?

NEXT, Mr. Ascoli informs Stevenson that *The Reporter* will be won over or lost "according to the way you fare in facing a few immediate tests that will prove your mettle."

In proving his mettle, Stevenson must first refrain from doing the things that helped elect Eisenhower in 1952. "You now have good professionals on your team," Mr. Ascoli warns Stevenson:

> . . . the danger is that you will make hedging concessions of a nature that will not bring you the support of the special-interest groups but will lower your prestige among the rest of the people.

Stevenson, as he reads this, may wonder whether he is being advised to make hedging concessions that *will* bring the support of the special-interest groups. But no—he must conclude that he is to forswear political opportunism. Racking his brain for evidence to explain Mr. Acsoli's fear that the candidate is in danger of compromising his integrity, Stevenson will remember only his guarded endorsement of price supports as a stop-gap measure to arrest the current fall in farm income.

The second "immediate test" that Stevenson must face, and if possible pass, is, in Mr. Ascoli's words:

> It is . . . said that this time you are carefully going

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> to avoid exposing yourself to the reproach of talking over the people's heads. It would be a terrible pity, Governor, if it turns out that this silly, unwarranted reproach has got under your skin—particularly since you could never, no matter how hard you tried, become a self-made lowbrow.

Once again a baffled Stevenson must wonder what he has done to provoke such anxiety. Despite considerable pressure to do otherwise, Stevenson has never yet talked down to people in eight years of almost continuous political campaigning. How long must his probation last?

The third "immediate test," the "major, all-important test," is that Stevenson should work now, with Secretary Dulles, on behalf of a better foreign policy, Mr. Ascoli has a rather low opinion of our Secretary of State. He is "fair game," according to Mr. Ascoli, with his "sickening list of asininities." But "the fact is that never during a peacetime election has the safety of our country been in such jeopardy." The situation is not irreparable yet, but it may well be irreparable one year from now. Stevenson, therefore, must *not* wait and see: he must "formulate programs of action so that the tide may be stemmed and the chains of interlocking commonwealths be reforged."

> Will you show that you are ready not only to talk but to act as a President? If you do it, Governor, you will become one.

That is Mr. Ascoli's conclusion, and the Governor is left to guess whether even if he jumps the gun in this manner he will become President with the assistance of *The Reporter*. What is Stevenson to conclude?

The candidate certainly has made known his troubled concern over the decline in US influence and power abroad although (being consistent in his moderation) he is unlikely to agree that the battle for the world may be wound up by Khrushchev within 52 weeks time. Stevenson grants that criticism of foreign policy must be constructive and must relate to present dilemmas. He has frequently (and unsuccessfully) proposed courses of action in the Middle East and Asia during private conferences with State Department officials. In his Charlottesville speech of November 11, among others, he set forth a clear-cut program of action to restore peace in the Middle East. Beyond this, what can Stevenson as leader of the opposition party do? He is not the President of the United States, and quite apart from its effect upon his chances of becoming Chief Executive, his acute sense of propriety tells him that he cannot talk or act as President and thus usurp the role of Dwight D. Eisenhower.

There is, then, no way in which Stevenson can pass the "immediate tests" and by proving his mettle earn *The Reporter's* endorsement. If Mr. Ascoli's view were to prevail among his subscribers, many Americans with vigor and imagination to contribute might continue to withhold their skills from the Stevenson movement during the early months in which the outcome of the 1956 election may well be determined. For what reason? Is there some *other* leader in the Democratic Party with the qualities that inspired Mr. Ascoli in 1952? Judging by *The Reporter's* comments on Senator Kefauver and Governor Harriman, the apparent alternatives, there is not. Is there a Republican who can better satisfy *The Reporter* as of today? Certainly not, judging by its bitter criticism of the Vice President, and by Mr. Ascoli's acknowledgment that Eisenhower lacks precisely the qualities that once gave Stevenson his "native glow." The Republican Party, with Mr. Eisenhower's approval, is cultivating with all its power the myth that the Presidency is a not-too demanding job, best occupied by the victim of a recent heart attack. Is this the eventuality which leads *The Reporter* to "wait and see?" Granted that our great daily newspapers are unwilling to face the issue, a present task of an independent journal is surely to warn that the eagerness of the Republican Party to take the known risk of death or disability in the White House is a pre eminent issue in the 1956 campaign.

Or, if the President bows out on grounds of health his place on the Republican ticket will presumably pass to the Vice President, the Chief Justice or the Minority Leader of the Senate. Among these three, *The Reporter* may find the second qualified. Will it then claim that Stevenson's election would be so great a setback for the nation as to require and justify the propulsion of the Supreme Court into partisan politics, with all the havoc that would wreak upon its recent and noble decisions?

Unpleasant as they may be, these are the real choices with which magazine editors (and voters) must come to terms. It is up to leaders of opinion to offer some guidance in clarifying existing alternatives, as well as ultimate ideals.

No serious journal of opinion worthy of respect ought to commit itself to a candidate, Adlai Stevenson included, in a way that forecloses constructive criticism. It has the duty to report the whole political scene honestly and fairly, and an obligation to change its mind if conditions greatly alter. But independence is not the same as indecision. Adlai Stevenson is not, after all, an unknown. If he is to be taken to task by responsible liberal journals, as he should be if and when that is deserved, the criticism ought to be based on facts more than fears, on substance rather than shadows. And the candidate's waywardness should be measured against the performance of others with whom he is competing for the Presidency.

On that basis we repeat what was said in *The New Republic* of November 21, 1955:

> The true measure of Adlai Stevenson is not the man against the unattainable ideal of the Presidency, but the man against other men.

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THE STATE OF THE UNION

☆

The President's Proposals Are Moderate. Will His Support of Them Also Be Moderate?

THE Republican National Committee has ordered 500,000 reprints of President Eisenhower's State of the Union Message. This, some Democrats maintain, stands as final proof of their charge that the Message is primarily a political document, written not to guide the nation but to maintain the present Administration in office.

"Political" in this sense means the politics of opportunism. And those who raise this charge point first to the radical shift in the President's political convictions over the past few years. In 1949 he condemned the emphasis placed by Democrats upon security, insisting that the only perfect security lay behind prison bars. Today he seeks to press the provisions of social security well beyond the boundaries reached by the Fair Deal. At Abilene, where he first raised his political platform in 1952, Mr. Eisenhower held that taxes were "only a little below the confiscatory level" and, if long continued, "will destroy free government." Today it is the President who warns Republicans and Democrats in Congress against the folly of reducing present high rates of corporate and individual taxes. In Abilene Mr. Eisenhower identified "absorption by the central government of functions that belong to local communities and to individuals" as one of the "evils which can ultimately throttle free government." Now he advocates federal action for school construction among other measures formerly reserved to the communities, and adding "we must aid in cushioning the heavy and rising costs of illness and hospitalization to individuals and families."

These contrasts lead right-wing Republicans to maintain in private that their party has been betrayed. Democrats, no less chagrined, add that in appropriating their programs as his own the President has obscured and therefore weakened our two-party system. To us these charges seem unfounded.

Like anyone else, Mr. Eisenhower is entitled to grow in his political convictions. He is not entitled, for political purposes, to induce in the people convictions whose validity is denied by the information which he as chief executive possesses and must assess.

Complacency, unwarranted and unconstructive, was the central weakness in the President's Message in 1954 and in 1955. Once again it dominates each scene that the President portrays. The President's claim that our national defense was never better is ridiculed by General Phillips in the pages that follow. Leon Keyserling in turn points out how empty is the President's claim that "virtually all sections of our society are sharing in these good times." The President's references to gains scored overseas are still further from reality. Within 24 hours of the President's Message Secretary Dulles was called on to testify before an Executive Session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Country by country, Mr. Dulles was forced to admit that there was no basis for the optimism which the President sought to impress upon the nation which looks to him for leadership.

> Every political and economic guide [declared Mr. Eisenhower] supports a valid confidence that wise effort will be rewarded by an even more plentiful harvest of human benefit than we now enjoy. Our resources are too many, our principles too dynamic, our purposes too worthy and the issues at stake too immense for us to entertain doubt or fear.

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The explanation of paragraphs such as this is surely simple: There is a direct and special connection between the unparalleled personal popularity of President Eisenhower and the confidence of Americans that everything is just fine. Doubt and fear are banished by Mr. Eisenhower not only because "our purposes are too worthy" and "our resources too many," but because they are inconsistent with his own political image. The deepest source of his acceptance by the nation would be troubled if not destroyed were that image which today dispels anxiety to be replaced by one of an active leader sensitive to doubts, and receptive to fears, discerning threats and opportunities as they arise at home and overseas, and arousing the nation to meet them by his own sense of excitement and concern.

The trouble with this attitude is that it misleads the nation. Moreover by perpetuating the sense of false security, the President makes it harder for the Congress to accomplish what it must. "*We must . . . we must . . . we must . . .* " is the President's insistent refrain. Reflecting his own complacency, the nation will wonder *why?*

FOREIGN AID: Compelled by the Renewal of Cold War

HALDORE HANSON served in the Department of State as administrator of United States aid to South Asia, 1950-53.

THE PRESIDENT'S key sentence on foreign aid reflects the most important Eisenhower decision since his illness: "We must sustain and fortify our Mutual Security Program." Behind these words is a new turn in American foreign policy, as a glance at past foreign assistance will show.

Lend-lease cost us $48 billion in World War II and was cut off one week after Japan surrendered. Postwar assistance during 1945-55 cost us $51 billion and had to be sold to Congress continually as a temporary job, first to feed Europe, then to help Europe recover, then to rearm our allies. The end always seemed in sight.

President Eisenhower in his first year in office cut the foreign aid request $2.5 billion below the level recommended by President Truman. When Congress that year declared that economic aid must be wound up by fiscal '56 and military aid by fiscal '57 he voiced no protest.

In fact Secretary of State Dulles advocated this course. Summarizing the Eisenhower foreign policy for the quarterly *Foreign Affairs* in April, 1954, Mr. Dulles had this to say about foreign aid: "Technical assistance will go on, and economic aid is not wholly excluded . . . but broadly speaking economic aid in the form of grants is on the way out. . . . "

Then came the Russian diplomatic and economic offensive in Asia and Africa, which the President acknowledged in his Message with the comment, "Communist tactics against the free nations have shifted in emphasis from reliance on violence and the threat of violence to reliance on division, enticement and duplicity."

SPECTACULAR developments in this Communist drive —the Czech arms deal with Egypt, the Russian offer to build Aswan Dam, the Russian contract for a $93 million steel mill in India, the huge barter contracts signed by the two Russian leaders and their 60 accompanying negotiators in India, Burma and Afghanistan— all this led to proposals in the State Department for a fresh departure in foreign aid. The proposal culminated in a long National Security Council meeting the week of December 12, when doctors observed the President was "fatigued." The decision was, as the President now confirms: "We must sustain and fortify our Mutual Security Program."

Mr. Dulles was more explicit in his press conference just before Christmas when he stated, "It's a fair inference that we consider that both the economic and the military aid should go on for a considerable period of time at about the present level." The present expenditure level is $4.2 billion.

The President justifies economic aid solely as a weapon against Communism, a viewpoint calculated to win support at home and certain to lose it abroad, among the uncommitted countries. "Because," the President said, "the conditions of poverty and unrest in less developed areas make their people a special target of international Communism, there is a need to help them . . ." No mention here that newly independent countries in Asia might need the kind of help and financial credit which the infant American nation received from Europe immediately after 1789. And no mention that the American economy richly benefits from the trade stimulated by the foreign assistance program.

The President proposes in his Message that Congress grant authority for foreign aid commitments "which require a period of years for planning and completion." This proposal grows directly out of the negotiations with Egypt on Aswan Dam, a project which engineers say will require at least 10 years to complete. Congress has authorized similar long-term commitments for Export-Import Bank funds, and for the four-year duration of the Marshall Plan, but it ignored a request from the President for such authority under the Point 4 program. Since the President's new concept of a continuing aid program is not yet accepted by leaders of either party in Congress,

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and indeed is not fully accepted within the Eisenhower Administration, one test of the President's convictions will be his willingness to stake a part of his personal popularity in fighting for adequate and continuing aid during the 1956 Congressional session.

Several omissions from the President's message bear upon the chances for foreign aid effectiveness. One is leadership. Harold Stassen, whatever his critics said, was for two and a half years a vigorous champion of international economic co-operation in the Cabinet, the National Security Council and before committees of Congress. When he relinquished the post of Director of Mutual Security last July 1, the office was stripped of Cabinet rank and its security Council seat, and moved into the State Department as a second string unit. The post of director was filled by John B. Hollister, the late Sen. Taft's law partner, who has not yet had an opportunity to present a foreign aid program to Congress, and cannot therefore be fairly judged in his new duties.

But some of his actions are out of line with the President's recent decisions. Hollister froze 20 percent of American economic aid funds at the very moment that Russian negotiators were on their way to South Asia, and the news of Hollister's action reached New Delhi the same day the Russians arrived. Hollister returned from an Asian trip last autumn with the comment to associates he thought Asian aid could be trimmed 20 percent next year. If these views prove representative, little more will be heard of the President's new plans.

ANOTHER omission from the message is a discussion of the relative emphasis on military as against economic aid. Secretary Dulles told the press in mid-December that Soviet competition had entered the "economic phase," yet the President's request for foreign aid funds shows three-fifths for guns, two-fifths for economic services. After the Russians have leapfrogged over military allies like Pakistan and Iraq with extensive economic offers to countries lying outside the bounds of military "containment," our foreign aid reply is more guns—three times more money for guns next year than this.

Still other aspects of our foreign policy, not dealt with in the Message, determine the effectiveness of our aid fully as much as the money involved. Our inaction, for example, on colonial problems. Or the constant harping on our military strength and our readiness to overwhelm other nations. Or the conduct of our exchange-of-persons program, including the visit of our national leaders abroad. (Does anyone seriously believe that the visits of a Nixon or a Dulles, however meticulously conducted, offer a counter-attraction to a Bulganin and a Khrushchev?) So the President's desire to "sustain and fortify" our aid must itself be fortified and sustained by becoming a decision of the Administration rather than a Presidential statement of things as Mr. Eisenhower would like them to be.

TRADE: Several Steps Ahead of Where We Were

RAYMOND VERNON was formerly a staff member of the Randall Commission and director of the Office of Trade Policy in the State Department.

WHEN the 84th Congress ended its first session last summer, the President's record on foreign trade legislation stood as one round won and two others yet to come. A badly mauled Trade Agreements Act had been renewed for three more years. But a proposal to have the United States join an Organization for Trade Co-operation and a bill to simplify United States Customs procedures were still on the Congressional agenda.

This year, the President's Message is concerned with these two items of unfinished business. And one of them —the proposal to join the OTC—may well foreshadow a classic struggle between the Executive and the legislature, for in the largest single paragraph on the section of the State of the Union Message that deals with international affairs the President declares:

> I most earnestly request that the Congress approve our membership in the Organization for Trade Organization which would assist the carrying out of the General Agreements on Tariffs and Trade to which we have been a party since 1948. Our membership in the OTC will provide the most effective and expeditious means for removing discriminations and restrictions against American exports and in making our trade agreements truly reciprocal. United States membership in the Organization will evidence our continuing desire to co-operate in promoting an expanded trade among the free nations.

The OTC was created for one prime purpose: to put the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade on a more solid, more enduring organizational basis. That is an important forward step. The GATT came into being in 1947. Since then, it has come to be the first effective trade agreement of world-wide scope. It grew out of 13 years' prior experience with bilateral trade agreements under the reciprocal trade program. It broadened these bilateral deals into a 35-nation arrangement and greatly accelerated program in the lowering of trade barriers. Thenceforth, instead of laboriously negotiating tariff agreements with one country at a time, the United States could negotiate with all the other members in a single operation. From then on the United States was able to achieve in three or four months what previously might have been expected to take years.

However, the GATT covered more than tariff negotiations. For the first time, it provided the rules of the

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game by which the world's major trading nations were to be guided in international trade. The general rules which the United States had tried to get other nations to accept piecemeal in its prewar two-country agreements were applied through GATT to 80 percent of all the world's trade

Finally, the GATT came to be the forum for the settlement of trade disputes. Before this, the usual outcome of a dispute between two countries in a trade agreement had been a stalemate; without third parties to help find a way out, these disputes typically cast a pall on the political relations of the countries concerned. But with GATT's advent, an impressive array of disputes, some critical in importance, were resolved by GATT's new procedure for settlement.

YET the GATT, for all its effectiveness, has been only a stop-gap, "provisional" agreement. It has not been an international organization in the usual sense; it has simply been a trade agreement kept afloat by the periodic meeting of its signatories. Because it has been only a trade agreement, GATT has not had, and has not needed, Congressional approval; the President has taken the responsibility for United States participation on his authority under the Trade Agreements Act.

When President Eisenhower took office in 1953, it appeared for a time as if the United States might turn its back on progress in the international trade field. The GATT had become a whipping boy, not only for protectionists but also for supporters of Senator Bricker's constitutional project who saw it as an illustration of Executive usurpation of the Congressional powers. For some years, hostility to the GATT was vented in a rider which was attached to every trade bill of consequence. "The enactment of this Act," the rider declared, "shall not be construed to determine or indicate the approval or disapproval by the Congress of the Executive Agreement known as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade."

To increase the uncertainty, the Randall Commission in early 1954 produced a vague and somewhat hostile recommendation to the effect that the GATT should be "renegotiated with a view of confining the functions of the contracting parties" to those of a consultative and sponsoring group, rather than a group directly concerned with the interpretation and application of the rules of the Agreement. Nevertheless, in the face of this general dyspepsia, the President announced that he proposed to try to renegotiate the GATT in order to provide "a simpler, stronger instrument contributing more effectively to the development of a workable system of world trade. . . . "

The renegotiation that ensued left the GATT no simpler. But it did produce the OTC, an organization to be devoted to increasing the effectiveness of the GATT's operations. The GATT members no longer would need to rely solely upon their hurried, crowded annual meetings as the forum for settling disputes, granting waivers, and discussing new trade problems. The permanent organizational structure provided by the OTC, operating on a year-round basis, could be expected to give a decided lift in efficiency to the GATT's operations.

The proposal to authorize United States participation in the OTC is a test of various sorts. For foreign countries observing the process, it is a test of whether the latent economic nationalism of the United States is likely to grow; whether the resurgence of protectionism as manifested by our recent restrictions on watches and bicycle imports, our pressures to reduce oil imports, and our efforts to choke off the flow of Japanese goods, is likely to dominate our future trade policies. For the Congress, it is one more test in the endless struggle to determine where domestic affairs end and foreign policy begins.

The debate on the other plank in the President's 1956 foreign trade program—the passage of the Customs Simplification Act—is likely to be anticlimatic if it occurs at all. The bill deals with a maze of customs complexities which confound foreign trade and add to the cost of imports. The struggle this year to simplify the method by which goods are valued for purposes of assessing import duties—the heart of the bill—is likely to be as recondite and obscure as ever. Yet if the bill should pass, its contribution to the freeing up of United States imports may well be greater than that of any other measure achieved by the Administration.

NATIONAL DEFENSE:
We Rely on Nuclear Weapons

BRIG. GEN. THOMAS R. PHILLIPS (USA, retired), military analyst for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, has contributed to periodicals in the US and abroad since 1923.

MORAL AFFIRMATIONS and military admissions stand in dramatic contrast in the State of the Union message. "The waging of peace" is our purpose the President declares, and "in this effort our weapons are not force." But then he adds: "The awesome power of the atom must be made to serve as the guardian of the free community." The President holds that "the crucial problem of disarmament has moved to the forefront of practical political endeavor." Then, omitting all mention of nuclear weapons in his references to our disarmament proposals, the President asserts: "We have improved the effectiveness . . . of our forces by . . . integrating . . . new atomic weapons into our military plans."

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Considered together the President's words mean this: the Eisenhower Administration is relying upon the deterrent power of our capacity for massive retaliation as a safeguard of peace; it is unwilling therefore to conduct a worldwide effort for nuclear disarmament; it is building nuclear weapons so far into our military capabilities that any war in which we are engaged must necessarily be nuclear from now on.

"All were in agreement that a nuclear war would be an intolerable disaster which must not be permitted to occur." That is the President's summary of the Conference of the heads of governments which he attended in Geneva last July. Nevertheless he has accelerated the construction of nuclear weapons: bombs, torpedoes, cannon of various sizes and guided missiles with atomic warheads." "The development of long-range missiles," he declares, "has been on an accelerated basis for some time."

THERE are excellent military reasons today for the United States to depend upon nuclear weapons. We are superior in all respects to the Soviet Union in the development of a great variety of these weapons. We may well boast of a ten-to-one advantage in the numbers we possess. Moreover, our means of delivery, for the moment, are much superior. Nuclear weapons together with their carriers are the only means by which the United States can project its military power quickly and in great force across the two oceans in support of its free-world allies. The Strategic Air Force, if it were armed with conventional bombs, could do only minor damage in the Soviet Union or China. The few divisions we have overseas would be lost in the mass of Communist troops.

It is for these reasons that General Alfred M. Gruenther, the American commander of the North Atlantic Treaty forces in Europe, warns against nuclear disarmament. Less visible are the reasons of Chairman Lewis L. Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission, who warned that it would be "an act of naïveté, indeed of the greatest folly," to enter into an agreement not to test or to use atomic weapons without proper safeguards.

The critical question here is whether the deterrent power of atomic weapons really will keep the peace. Historically the horrors of war have never prevented war. Thus the Mongols threatened to kill every person found in the defended cities in China and Persia if they met with resistance. They met with resistance none the less, and they carried out their threats. Eighteen million Chinese were killed in 10 years of war. In Persia the skulls of those killed by the Mongols were stacked into small mountains.

Today neither the United States nor the Soviet Union will deliberately foment an all-out nuclear war. And yet the atomic bombing of Chinese airfields in a war over Formosa is more than possible. It could well lead to atomic retaliation against United States forces, and thus to the gradual spread of the conflagration into a general nuclear war as we bombed the "privileged sanctuaries" first in China and later in Siberia. Marshal N. A. Bulganin declared on December 31:

> It is wrong to assert that inasmuch as East and West possess hydrogen weapons, the possibility of a thermonuclear war is automatically excluded. . . . It is clear that the arms drive, including that in the field of atomic weapons, is not diminishing but, on the contrary, is increasing the threat of a new war.

It is, of course, in the immediate Soviet interest to inhibit the use of atomic weapons, thereby permitting the Soviet Union to retain its superiority in conventional forces. It may also be that the Russian leaders understand that nuclear weapons are the greatest of all dangers, transcending national rivalries and ambitions. More than a year ago Marshal Vassilevsky wrote:

> We military are responsible for hundreds of millions of lives who can perish during a future war. . . . The destructive power military science provides is so great that we soldiers should understand the necessity of banning atomic weapons and of establishing an effective international control over them.

Short of war, President Eisenhower reassures us, "We have never had military strength better adapted to our needs." The danger which he wholly ignores is that our advantage in nuclear weapons is transitory. With the steady increase in range of aircraft and the imminent development of intercontinental missiles, and with the Soviet Government's urgent effort to overtake the lead of the United States in nuclear power, the time is not far distant when the Soviet atomic threat will be as dangerous to the United States as is ours today to the Soviet Union. That dread day will be on us within five to ten years.

THIS bears very closely, or it should, on the "practical political endeavor" of disarmament. Should the US not use its passing superiority in nuclear power as a lever to obtain an agreement on the limitation of armaments and the effective ban of nuclear weapons? On disarmament, the President declares: "We move in a wide variety of ways . . . to reduce the burden of armaments." And: "We shall persevere in seeking a general reduction of armaments under effective inspection and control which are essential safeguards to ensure reciprocity and protect the security of all." "At Geneva," he adds, "I declared the readiness of the United States to exchange blueprints of the military establishments of our nation and the USSR, to be confirmed by reciprocal aerial reconnaisance. By this means I felt mutual suspicions could be allayed and an atmosphere developed in which negotiations looking toward limitation of arms would have improved chances of success."

But nowhere does Mr. Eisenhower mention the limitation of nuclear armaments.

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The position of the United States on disarmament has been marked during the past year by a reversal of its previous stand. The Western powers had proposed a three-stage program consisting of setting up an inspection and control system, reduction of conventional armaments and finally abolition of nuclear armaments. It had been our contention that the Soviet's early disarmament proposal to ban nuclear armaments at once would leave the Soviet Union in a dominant miliary position.

The Russian delegates accepted the Western proposals, accepted them, that is, in such a fashion as would prevent the rearmament of Germany, require the US to give up its overseas bases and place disputes over inspection and control in the hands of the Security Council of the United Nations where the Soviet Union could exercise a veto. Nevertheless, the Soviet response was an advance toward meeting Western objections, and it offered a basis for discussion. Instead, the United States backed down from its own long-considered proposal and replaced it with nothing more than President Eisenhower's proposal for aerial inspection and an exchange of blueprints of military forces. The Administration refused to combine this with any schedule for reduction of armed forces. In other words, our military had won a policy victory in the national councils and had vetoed any negotiations on disarmament that might deprive them of their atomic weapons.

One of the sources of military strength in the Soviet Union is the effectiveness of its security measures. Western intelligence has failed to penetrate them to any degree. We are certain that there must be many targets in the Soviet Union, such as new air bases, military establishments and armaments industries. But their location is unknown to us. The Soviet security system is more important to the Kremlin than our overseas airbases are to us.

It was apparent from the beginning that the President's proposal, divorced from any further stages of disarmament, could not possibly be accepted by the Russians. It could only appear to them as an attempt to penetrate the Soviet security system in the interests of Western military intelligence.

INASMUCH as the United States has remained immovable in its position, Soviet opinion of the President's proposal is now being expressed with greater frankness. On December 30, Nikita S. Khrushchev declared to the Supreme Soviet: "Achievement of agreement on these questions [reduction of armaments, prohibition of nuclear weapons and international control] was prevented by the change of position of the United States."

"Now the United States," he continued, "is in effect removing from the agenda the question of reducing armaments and puts to the foreground only the proposal submitted by President Eisenhower in Geneva . . ."

It is possible, of course, that the study group created by the President will develop new plans for disarmament in 1956 and possible further that the President will override the opposition of the military in subjecting those plans to serious negotiation at the UN. For the present, however, the resounding claims made by the President are misleading. The United Nations, Mr. Eisenhower notes, approved his plans by a vote of 56 to 7. "Thereby," he claims, "the issue is placed squarely before the bar of world opinion." This kind of complacency points toward the retention of the status quo in the belief that 56 nations stand solidly behind us. That is a tragic illusion quite apart from the fact that it is our relationship with the seven that will determine whether we live in peace or die in war.

Disarmament apart, President Eisenhower has a few comforting words to say about defense.

> Our security position commands respect. . . . Our defenses have been reinforced at sharply reduced costs. . . . Our defense program emphasizes an effective flexible type of power calculated to deter or repulse any aggression and to preserve the peace. . . . We have improved the effectiveness . . . by integrating . . . new atomic weapons into our military plans. We continue to push the production of the most modern military aircraft. The development of long-range missiles has been on an accelerated basis for some time. . . .

And so on. All true, and all too reminiscent of Soviet statistics themselves in which progress is heralded, not by units gained, but by percentage points.

WHAT is omitted here is that in the unit for unit competition for military power we are falling behind. Our lone superiority is in medium jet bombers, which were started in 1946. Today the Soviet Union is building intercontinental jet bombers faster than we are. We in turn are pressing the output of the subsonic B-52 bomber when we should be in production with supersonic bombers to give our fliers a chance against the new Soviet supersonic interceptors. There is also every reason to believe that the Russians are considerably ahead of the United States in the development of medium range and intercontinental guided missiles.

No doubt we should not look for these unwelcome facts in the President's Message. A party leader in an election year can hardly say that in the past period under review the United States has turned to the doubtful policy of a nuclear arms race to maintain the peace, has frustrated its own reasonable approach to disarmament, and yet has seen its own defenses and those of its allies slip. He may claim that we are "reinforcing" our defenses at "sharply reduced costs." He cannot add that we are falling behind because our opponent has reinforced his to an even greater degree. But that happens to be the State of the Union.

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TAXES: Top Priority to a Balanced Budget

RANDOLPH PAUL, a former general counsel of the Treasury and lecturer on taxation at Harvard and Yale Law schools, is one of the nation's leading tax attorneys.

IN REGARD to taxation the State of the Union Message consists chiefly of vague generalities and political claims. It contains only two specific recommendations. The first is that excise taxes should be continued at present rates. The second is that the reduction in the corporation income tax from 52 to 47 percent scheduled for April 1 shall be postponed for another year.

Few responsible persons will quarrel with these recommendations, nor will most objective students of taxation quarrel vigorously with the President's general opposition to a tax cut under existing conditions of "high peacetime prosperity." The most disturbing aspect of the President's discussion of tax policy lies in the reasons he gives for the conclusion that there should be no cut at this time. He calls attention to "our enormous national debt" and "the obligation we have toward future Americans to reduce that debt whenever we can appropriately do so." Here the emphasis is altogether upon the amount of our debt. I do not wish to be understood as advocating unlimited debt expansion. Our debt is a problem, and high prosperity does furnish an opportunity for tax reduction. But we have other pressing problems which crowd for our best attention. One of them is the maintenance of a balanced growth of the economy. The best way to solve the debt problem is to maintain a growing economy which makes the interest on the debt less of a burden from year to year.

A second reason given by the President for maintaining present levels of taxation is his belief that "a tax cut can be deemed justifiable only when it will not unbalance the budget." The philosophy of this statement seems to give unlimited priority to a balanced budget. The implication is that we can have no tax reduction until we have a budget which is balanced and "which makes provisions" for a reduction. If I understand the President correctly, he gives no recognition to the vital role tax policy may have in promoting the welfare of the economy, or to the inflationary implications of a tax cut at this time.

Nor does the philosophy of the President's Message visualize the possible needs for a tax cut if any downward trend in the economy should develop in the next few months. The dictates which preclude operating as a deficit in a period of high prosperity also "call for tax adjustments designed to counteract any serious recessionary movement," as President Truman pointed out in his 1949 Economic Report.

While a tax cut may now be inadvisable, there are some disquieting facts which needs careful attention for the future. Farmers are suffering from falling prices and rising costs. The government's price index for wholesale commodities stood at 83.3 percent for agriculture in December, 1955—the lowest since June, 1946. The railroad industry had an unsatisfactory year in 1955. A dip in new car sales near the end of 1955 has given rise to uneasiness in the automobile industry. After the imposition of credit restrictions by the government, new home starts fell off in the last quarter of 1955. If these incipient signs of a decline in the economy should develop into substantial proportions in 1956, a tax cut may be one of many needed answers. We should be getting our minds ready to decide which kind of tax cut would be most effective if any recessionary movement should develop. The President's rosy State of the Union Message exhibits an almost complete lack of recognition of this necessity.

An undue emphasis upon a balanced budget could also provoke misgivings in some anxious quarters about expenditure policy. Of course, the President recognizes that we must provide adequate defenses against Communist aggression, and that increased expenditures will be required for the improvement of schools, the development of natural resources, highway building and other vital programs. These needs have a high priority—I, for one, think that they have a higher priority than a balanced budget.

We must wait for the Budget Message to see how the President plans to face up to these needs and whether he will propose that they shall be honestly met within the budget or evasively kept outside the budget.

THE State of the Union Message says nothing about any further readjustment of our tax system to promote greater equity. Talking in terms of the past, it does point to the fact that almost two-thirds of the $7.5 billion released by the record tax cut of 1954 went to individuals. From the standpoint of equity, and also possibly from the standpoint of the good of the economy, the more relevant question is how much of these tax savings went to individuals in the lower brackets. The best available evidence shows that only one-quarter of the total relief granted to individuals in 1954 went to those two-thirds of American families with incomes of $5,000 or less, and that almost three-fourths went, directly or indirectly, to individual taxpayers with higher incomes.

The present tax system is full of discriminations against taxpayers who earn their income and are unable to take advantage of the many incentive provisions granting relief to favored industries or to favored groups of individuals who command Congressional attention. Most of these discriminations help the higher income brackets

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and hurt the lower. The erosion of the tax base they produce is making the income tax one of the nation's many wasting assets and calls for corrective actions of a far-reaching character. The State of the Union Message offers no evidence that the President is even aware of this grave problem.

The current session of Congress will have to consider not only the question of a tax cut, but also the question of tax readjustments within the present revenue framework. Included among widely discussed possible readjustments are the elimination of the dividend credit provided by the 1954 Code, the advisability of withholding on dividends and interest, and the repeal of the 1954 provision liberalizing the deduction for depreciation of plant and equipment. The estate and gift taxes also need extensive revision to make them more effective instruments of taxation. It is a matter of regret that the President did not give Congress the benefit of his views on these important issues.

AGRICULTURE: All the Way with Secretary Benson

LEON KEYSERLING, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, 1950-53, recently collaborated in a new plan for *Full Prosperity for Agriculture*.

IN DISCUSSING the plight of the farmer, President Eisenhower is eloquent. "No other resource," he declares, "is so indispensable as the land that feeds and clothes us. No group is more fundamental to our national life than our farmers." In wartime, the President adds, "Their response was superb, their contribution unsurpassed." Now, as a result "mountainous, price-depressing surpluses" harass them for which the farmers are not to blame. Therefore, "our farm people are not sharing as they should in the general prosperity." Their well-being requires us to act "wisely, imaginatively and promptly," so that farmers may get "a return for their work in line with what other Americans get."

All this might have seemed reassuring in a campaign speech in the fall of 1952. It is not reassuring in a Presidential Message after three years in office, during which policies advocated and put into effect in the Executive Branch have wrought relative depression upon the farm economy while advancing prosperity (with some interruption) has been enjoyed by others. Comparing 1955 with 1952, total farm income derived from farm sources declined 23 percent (and even including income derived from nonfarm sources dropped 18 percent), while our total national product and national income each rose 10 percent; per capita farm income from all sources fell from $960 to about $865, while per capita national income rose from $1,864 to about $1,955. All of these measurements are in uniform 1954 prices. Yet again and again the President insists that the mistakes all occurred under Truman and that the Benson program needs only more time and reinforcements.

The Message is clearly wedded to the philosophy and substance of the so-called Benson farm program. Specifically, it states that "our farm people are . . . caught between two millstones—rising production costs and declining prices" This comes close to a favorite thesis of Secretary Benson and his associates—that the farmer's troubles have been caused by rising industrial wages. But the general prosperity for which the Administration claims credit would have been impossible if wages and the buying power of workers had not about kept up with rapidly rising productivity. And if wages and the standard of living had not advanced, consumption of farm products would have been even lower and the farmer even worse off.

A second indication that the Administration is still adhering to the disastrous Benson philosophy and program is the overemphasis in the message on farm "surpluses" as the overwhelmingly central cause of the farmer's difficulties. There are some maladjustments in farm production, and some "surpluses" are too large. But the farm "surpluses" are not larger than the surpluses of unused manpower and plant in other sectors of the economy. The real difference is this: while we have learned how, through conscious and affirmative policies and programs, to protect other sectors of the economy from being ruined by so-called "surpluses," the farmer is being forced backward by current Administration policies toward excessive reliance upon the "natural economic laws" of a "free market." This means for the farmer disparity of income and gradual impoverishment, even when he does not produce "surpluses." The best example of this is livestock, where prices and incomes have tumbled fantastically in the absence of any appreciable price supports or government purchases for storage or "surpluses."

The State of the Union Message has now been followed by a special farm message. Centering upon the creation of a Soil Bank it proposes government payments to farmers to withdraw acres from cultivation. The language of this proposal is so fuzzy as to border on the disingenuous. It is not clear who is to decide whether the payments are to be in cash or in kind, how their size is to be measured, or how they are to be financed or what they will cost. But the rationale of this proposal is clear: if only the farmer can be coaxed to produce less, the just laws of the free market will drive his income upward toward parity.

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Decent income for the farmer, unfavorably positioned s he is in the market place, depends not upon invoking he untrammeled laws of "supply and demand," but ather upon starting with fair treatment of human beings nd fair income objectives. With these objectives given irst priority, intelligent adjustments of production can e induced. But to try to force commodity adjustments ather than achieve human adjustments puts the cart efore the horse; and because farmers are still free men, his approach results in mounting "surpluses" as the armers seek vainly to counteract falling income by more ntensive cultivation.

The sharpest indication of the Administration's farm hilosophy is the President's assertion that "war markets re not the markets of peace-time." Though this is in ne sense a half-truth, it reveals the oft-stated claim of he Administration that a lower level of income and well-eing for farmers has been an inescapable by-product of eace, just as in the recession of 1953-1954 the Adminis-ration said that we were unusually prosperous *consider-ng* that we were no longer at war. But the real reason hy the rest of the economy is even more prosperous lthough World War II and the Korean War are over—he reason why the long heralded postwar depression has ot occurred—is not because of adherence to the auto-natic laws of "supply and demand"; given free reign, hese "laws" would have produced disaster. Instead, both hrough public laws and private action we have kept in ffect in the nonfarm economy the great stabilizing and xpansionary forces—the great instruments of conscious nd affirmative policy—which were highly controversial uring their initiation but which are now generally ac-epted because they have worked. When the subsidence f war-created factors challenged the current Administra-ion to apply mid-twentieth century economics to the arm problem, however, it reverted instead to the eco-nomics of two generations ago, and the farmer is paying he bill. While the latter portion of the President's pecific farm message pays a bit of lip service to expand-ng consumption, the first part makes it clear that there s not really much room for such expansion—only a re-trictionary program will do the trick, with maybe a ickle of additional milk for school children.

President Eisenhower's personal intentions toward the merican farmer are undoubtedly good. But those who dvise him what to propose on this subject are not merely isguided. Their intentions for the farmer are not good. hey believe that farm income was too high, and needed o be reduced, although it never approximated parity. hey are dedicated to the hopeless theory of general verproduction, rather than to the constructive approach f expanding consumption. They believe that the way to chieve adjustments in production is not through guid-nce and inducements, but rather through bludgeoning nd penalties. They believe, in short, that the farmer ould be put through the wringer.

There is no hope in the specifics which may emerge from such an economic philosophy; this philosophy must be repudiated and reversed before sound specifics can emerge. And because the agents of false propaganda on the farm subject have been so specious and so persistent that they have misled the bulk of innocent citizens, an immediate long-range program of education is the last clear hope of American agriculture.

HOUSING: The Need Is The Same for One Third of the Nation

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THE GUIDING goal of government policy, in President Eisenhower's words, is "the common good of America." "Never must we forget," he said, "that this means the well-being, the prosperity, the security of all Americans in every walk of life."

The housing program bears more directly than any other on the well-being of all Americans in every walk of life. And as regards housing, the State of the Union is not good. Of the nation's 45 million housing units, some 10 million are so dilapidated that they are no longer fit for use, while an additional 5 million would require major repairs to be made suitable for family living. One third of the nation, in other words, is still ill-housed in 1956.

Residential construction is important, not only in providing housing but in contributing to full employment. Today, residential construction is on the decline. This trend must be reversed if the prosperity of the whole economy is to be sustained.

All this requires action by the federal government. But President Eisenhower proposes no significant changes in the inadequate programs thus far authorized. He does recognize the special need for housing older people, the need that looms larger from year to year. But he dismisses it with no more than a vague reference to some assistance to private homebuilders and to charitable institutions. Otherwise, the program is to continue pretty much as it did in the past; that is, with some shrinkage. For the President recommends a cutback in the low-rent public-housing program from the 45,000 units Congress authorized last year to only 35,000 units a year for the next two years. This means cutting the annual authorization for the low-rent program by more than 22 percent.

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In the past the family unable to afford the monthly payments at which decent shelter is available in the present housing market has been seen by both parties as deserving particular consideration. Today the ability of low-income families to find safe and sanitary homes is no longer the touchstone of "the common good of America," the "well-being of Americans in every walk of life," in the President's words.

As early as 1953, labor spokesmen warned that unmet housing needs will continue to mount unless the rate of housing construction is raised to 2 million units or more a year. Independent experts have confirmed these estimates. Today the Administration seems satisfied with the 1955 construction rate of 1.3 million units or less. No higher rate than this will be achieved unless a substantial proportion of the homes built are within the reach of the low and moderate income families who need better housing most urgently today. A sound rate would be for 200,000 low rental public units rather than for 35,000 a year.

NATURAL RESOURCES: Always Too Little, Often Too Late

Wayne L. Morse, as senior Senator from Oregon, has devoted much of his attention to legislation for the development of power and conservation affecting the public domain.

IN 1955 the West Coast and Northeast were stricken with flood disasters that dwarf the classic Johnstown flood. Preliminary reports of the American Red Cross, which are not complete—with fresh floods threatening—show that in these two areas rampaging rivers directly affected 69,000 families, destroyed 2,000 homes, damaged 37,000 homes, killed 238 people and injured 9,900 others. The damage to farms and businesses remains beyond assessment.

President Eisenhower's Message barely mentions these flood disasters. Hundreds of thousands of Americans who live in the valleys of the nation where floods have occurred and can recur will look in vain in the President's Message for a proposal to *prevent* the repetition of death and destruction.

The President does advocate a few projects of established political value, which are too expensive for private utilities to undertake. He further declares:

"Disaster assistance legislation requires overhauling and an *experimental* program of flood-damage indemnities should be undertaken." (Italics mine.)

The vigor and vision of this "overhaul" can be judge from the testimony of Wendell Barnes, head of th Small Business Administration, before a House Com mittee on the very day of the State of the Union Messag Last year the Democratic Congress provided for lo interest loans to small businessmen affected by floods hurricanes and the like. That loan program was kep small at Administration insistence. As a result, the $2 million disaster loan limit was exhausted by the flood which struck after Congress adjourned.

I HAVE proposed a $50 million increase in the disaste fund. Democratic Reps. Brent Spence and Wrigh Patman did the same in the House in the face of ex pected demands for loans up to $58,573,000 for flood already past. In the course of Barnes' testimony that th Administration did not desire an increase in the fun limit, new flood-threatening rains were moving over th West Coast. Mr. Barnes maintained that merging th regular and disaster loan limits "will be adequate to me our needs through June 30, 1957—unless, of course, w have a succession of major disasters."

Democrats pointed out that the Administration pla would drain funds for regular small business loans. Th program has gone forward all too slowly and contrast with the part of the message in which President Eise hower promised: "We shall continue to help small bus ness concerns to obtain access to adequate financing . . . That means apparently: We shall tell them where the can find the nearest bank.

Admittedly there is a need for disaster insurance. Bu the proposal of Senator Bush (R, Conn.) for reinsuranc which the President seems to favor amounts to a r insurance policy for insurance companies. Some subsid to insurance companies may become necessary, but th emphasis should be on aiding the communities wher disaster has struck.

"Throughout the past three years," the President a firms, "the Administration has repeatedly moved int action wherever disaster struck." But as in preventiv medicine, flood control and hydroelectric power are be and most serviceable if they are provided *before* disast and shortages strike.

The President proposes nothing to prevent floods i the East. In the West his program as outlined in th State of the Union Message, is in opposition to effectiv flood control. Consider for example the proposal fo "partnership" at the John Day Dam, which is presentl authorized as a federal multi-purpose project. The pre ent authorization calls for a high dam with both pow features and flood control. This past fall a Board o Engineers recommended against a proposal to remov major flood control features because of the need fo storage facilities in view of the imminent loss of floo storage capacity at Hell's Canyon. Republican spokesme and private utility companies have urged that the loss o

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ohn Day flood-storage capacity could be offset by a relaıvely small multi-purpose dam known as Bruce's Eddy. 3ruce's Eddy is on the "partnership" list of the Adminstration and the utilities. Both want the government to ›ay for the cost of the flood-control features while the ›ower companies install and earn profit from the generaors. Bruce's Eddy would store only 1.4 million acre feet f water. In contrast, the proposed federal high Hell's anyon Dam would store 3,880,000 acre feet of water.

Hell's Canyon remains the gravest of the giveaways ttempted by this Administration. Its stored water is ıtal to flood control and would also control river flow to oost the output of great federal dams downstream. Vithout Hell's Canyon they will operate at less than full, ear-round capacity. The Idaho Power Company plan rovides for only one million acre feet of storage with ttle flood control value and no downstream power benets. This project is being fought in the courts and Conress.

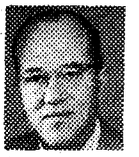
Against Administration opposition, the Democratic ongress last year provided funds for starting construcon of two new federal flood control-power projects in)regon, Cougar and Hills Creek Dams. Against Admin.tration opposition, we obtained planning funds for a ıird such dam, Green Peter. Important as these are, ıe message does not mention them by name. Two are roposed for "partnership" despite the fact that they are rimarily flood control projects.

Nor does the President make mention of the need ›r flood control on smaller streams. Last year Congress ıdded substantial funds for surveying Engineers flood›ntrol projects. Requests made to the executive agency y Senator Neuberger and myself for allocating some of ıose funds to authorized Oregon projects—some on the reams that flooded in recent weeks—were turned down. regon's share remained at $24,500 for three small rojects.

THE Administration is delaying action on the Trinity project in California; it foresees a private utility "partnership" there. It is obstructing other federal ultipurpose projects to conserve the best sites for the ilities. I give these details on my region because I know e problems in detail. It seems clear to me that the same nd of favoritism accounts for the lack of presidential oposals for flood control projects in the Northeast. ıey have been stymied for years by private utility op›sition to federal hydroelectric power. And yet revenues ›m power sales would make such dams feasible.

Given the choice between flood control and private ılity interests, this Administration continues to take the ility company line. Prompt and adequate measures to event the recurrence of the disasters of 1955 appaıntly form no part of what the President calls "the ›sponse to human concerns."

EDUCATION: Agreement on the Urgency of Federal Aid



DR. EDGAR FULLER is executive officer for the State Commissioners and Superintendents who administer federal education in all the states and territories.

IN THE SECTION of his State of the Union Message that deals with "human concerns" President Eisenhower once again argues that "good education is fundamental" to our democracy. This year he grants in addition that it requires prompt *and substantial* action by the federal government:

> So far as the federal share of responsibility is concerned I urge that the Congress move promptly to enact an effective program of federal assistance to help erase the existing deficit of school classrooms. Such a program which should be limited to a five-year period, must operate to increase rather than decrease local and state support of schools and to give the greatest help to the states and localities with the least financial resources. Federal aid should in no way jeopardize the freedom of local school systems. There will be presented to the Congress a recommended program of federal assistance for school construction.

Similar statements in recent years—for President Truman was ardent in his advocacy of federal aid—have led to no helpful action. But there is reason to believe that in this fourth year of the Eisenhower Administration action will be taken at last. For one thing the need has become appalling in its urgency; for another, as President Eisenhower notes, public opinion has been mobilized through the mechanism of the White House Conference and its preliminary meetings, in which a half-million Americans took part.

In pressing for action the Eisenhower Administration should welcome its present opportunity to share political credit with the Democratic Congress. For on the school construction issue the Administration's political stock has nowhere to go but up, especially in the thinking of large numbers of independent voters among professional school people and other citizens greatly concerned about the schools. Far more important than political advantage, a substantially bipartisan law is possible this year. For if the bill offered once again in the House by Rep. Augustine Kelley (D, Pa.) passes the House and something based on the Administration's bill passes the Senate, the two can be merged in a joint conference committee to produce acceptable legislation. This seems the obvious course for Congress to take. The Kelley bill after all is the result of years of Congressional study and struggle in

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Congress. It is bound to be a prime factor in responsible Congressional action and thus deserves the Administration's full respect. But if the Eisenhower Administration puts politics first and works to defeat the Kelley bill in the House in order to gain priority for its new bill in the Senate, our schools may be the losers.

And this would be unnecessary as well as tragic. The origins of the Kelley bill itself are bipartisan. Its grant-in-aid section is similar to that of the identical bills introduced with perfect bipartisan harmony a year ago.

In spite of its origins, however, the Kelley bill is widely regarded as the Democratic bill. Speaker Rayburn has given it priority on the agenda. It was voted out of the House Education and Labor Committee last July by 15 Democrats and 6 Republicans, with 2 Democrats and 7 Republicans in opposition. Its grant-in-aid authorization of $400 million annually for four years is too high to be acceptable to the Administration. In recent weeks, too, some of the special provisions considered for many years in connection with the old general federal-aid bills that failed have been dusted off in the HEW Department and found to be good. So the Administration has a new bill of its own.

Upon most issues there are no serious disagreements in principle. To illustrate, both parties want federal funds distributed according to need. Everyone desires that federal funds shall not displace state or local funds that would otherwise be expended for school facilities. All bills being considered safeguard state and local autonomy completely through state administration of the construction program. They make absurd any charge that there could be federal interference with programs of education in local schools after the facilities have been constructed by the school districts under state standards with combined local, state and federal funds.

The question of distribution according to need raises the question about what is fairly defined as such. Both Administration and Democratic bills authorize full equalization among local districts within each state under the priorities of state plans. This is the major factor in determining need for school facilities, because variations in fiscal capacity among local districts within states are commonly 100 to 1 and are greater in every state than the less than 3 to 1 variation between the richest state and the poorest state.

The Administration's bill goes beyond equalization *within* states and authorizes equalization in allocations *among* states. The Kelley bill takes more into account where the federal funds come from and authorizes allocations to states on the basis of school-age population alone. Kelley bill supporters point out that after federal taxes have been credited to the states where the tax burden actually falls, (rather than where federal taxes are collected), the advantage per school child that the poorest state would have over the richest state would be about 8 to 1. Since the difference in fiscal capacity between these tw states is less than 3 to 1, Kelley bill supporters believe th 8 to 1 inherent levelling effect of the federal tax system i enough equalization. The Administration's formul would increase the advantage of the poorest over th richest state to about 16 to 1 per school child. Thi range is only 2 to 1 if no account is taken of the sourc of federal tax funds.

A majority of the supporters of both bills agree wit President Eisenhower that "anti-segregation" amen ments are "extraneous" to this legislation. No bill coul pass in the 84th Congress with this handicap. Childre without schools cannot wait for the reform of a soci system and the amendment can only deny them school

The complexity of the legislation cannot be denie but there is rapid progress toward a concensus on scho construction aid. The way things look now, the 84t Congress seems likely to rise to its opportunity.

IMMIGRATION: Time for Change, but Change to What?

PHILIP PERLMAN, attorney, served as Solicitor General of the United States, 1947-52, and Chairman of the President's Commission on Immigration, 1952-53.

It may not be entirely fair to say that President Eise hower's treatment of the subject of immigration, nationality and citizenship in his State of the Uni Message falls far short of the advance notices given Attorney General Brownell. It may not be entirely fa because, although the Attorney General publicly pro ised the submission of legislation by the administrati to revise the McCarran-Walter Act, he did not say th whatever changes the President may eventually advoca would be detailed in the State of the Union Messag and the President does indicate that changes, other th those he outlines in the message, will be submitted to t Congress.

The President begins his discussion in high-soundin albeit general, terms:

> In keeping with our responsibility of world leadership and in our own self interest I again point out to the Congress the urgent need for revision of the immigration and nationality laws. Our Nation has always welcomed immigrants to our shores. The wisdom of such a policy is clearly shown by the fact that America has been built by immigrants and the descendants of

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immigrants. That policy must be continued realistically with present day conditions in mind.

This is all very well, except that our nation has not ways welcomed immigrants to our shores. The blanket clusion of Asiatics no longer exists, but ever since 1924, r more than 30 years, our immigration laws have been sed on a national-origins quota system, deliberately disminating in favor of Northern and Western Europns, and against Southern and Eastern Europeans. The egree of welcome varies from warm to freezing, deending upon national origin, and many desirable immirants have found it impossible to break through the ice. resident Eisenhower does not even mention the naonal-origin quota system of selection, the malignant ncer in the code of our immigration laws. What he does , however, is to advocate the distribution of unused uota numbers to qualified applicants of other countries. his would certainly work a great improvement, proded the distribution was made on a fair basis. It has ready been advocated without success for many years. nder the national-origins system of selection 56 percent the available quota numbers remained unused from 25 through 1952.

THE President also recommends that the number of persons admitted to this country (presumably for permanent residence) be based on the 1950 census, stead of the 1920 census, as provided by the McCarranalter Act. But census of what? The 1920 census figure d in the McCarran-Walter Act excludes Indians and groes from the total. Does the President mean to conue to exclude them? He doesn't say. Does he intend to ply the same formula used in the McCarran-Walter ct, one-sixth of one percent, or some other percentage hich would keep the total number of immigrants enterg each year where it is now? The President doesn't say. he President also recommends that the Secretary of ate and the Attorney General be authorized "to waive e requirements of finger printing on a reciprocal basis r persons coming into this country for temporary sits." And these are all the specific recommendations e President makes, although it should be noted that he dicates there will be others.

Excluding his support of the important recommendion for the pooling of unused quota numbers, President senhower nowhere faces up to the wrongs inherent in e McCarran-Walter Act, the rules and regulations opted under its provisions, and the detrimental manner its enforcement. He does not comment on the fact at our consuls in foreign countries have uncontrolled scretion to grant or deny visas for any reason or no ason, that their actions are not subject to any review, d that even the Secretary of State is barred by the cCarran-Walter Act from exerting any authority in ch matters. The President says nothing about the discriminations against naturalized citizens imposed by the McCarran Act, or about the restrictions and delays which have kept leading scientists from paying us visits and giving us the benefit of their researches. He says nothing about a wealth of other instances of unnecessary and harmful restrictions and discriminations which total up to about the worst legislation on the subject in force in any of the important free nations of the world.

As I Read It . . .

A PRESIDENTIAL Message in an election year tends to be a highly political document. So it is with this one. Unfavorable developments at home and abroad are swept under the rug. The deteriorating situation in the Near East, India and Southeast Asia is ignored. The dangerous spread of "neutralism" is slurred over. The decrease in our armed forces is not mentioned. Similarly, the increasing concentration of economic power in this country through mergers is blandly denied, and the improper favors to big business and upper income groups are either glossed over or disregarded.

IN ITS WELFARE features the Message shows the influence of Thomas E. Dewey and the new Toryism of Great Britain: vague, verbal support, but little practical support to the humane and progressive measures for which liberals have long contended and which in the past have been bitterly opposed by the conservatives. THUS THE MESSAGE has kind words for extension of social security and fair labor standards, and promises affirmative action in the fields of health, education, highways, aid to distressed areas, housing, etc. The language is very indefinite; it is hard to tell precisely what will be proposed. In the field of public housing, a definite figure of only 35,000 units is specified. It remains to be seen whether the Administration will back up its fair words with action.

I HOPE I am not uncharitable if I say that, on the basis of past actions, what we may probably expect is an emasculated version of the program of liberal Democrats.

SOME REPUBLICAN strategists hope to blame the Democrats if the coalition of conservative Republicans and Democrats prevents action, and to take the credit for any measures passed by Democratic votes. It is a shrewd piece of political tactics. Whether or not it succeeds will depend upon public alertness and faithful reporting by the press.

Paul H. Douglas

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The President says he "is happy to report substantial progress in the flow of immigrants under the Refugee Relief Act of 1953." That Act as introduced provided for the admission within two years of 240,000 refugees, expellees and escapees. As passed by the 83rd Congress, the number was reduced to some 209,000 and the time for admission was extended from 2 years (it should already be concluded) to about 3.5 years, so that the average per annum would be less than half the President requested. And the restrictions written into the law were such that comparatively few could qualify except those who had priority anyhow under other laws. And the Security Officer of the State Department was named in the Act as its administrator. The effort by the President and by the Secretary of State to provide some kind of sympathetic understanding of unfortunate victims of wars and the aftermath of wars failed rather completely. Edward Corsi, brought in to rescue the program from complete failure, became himself a victim of the situation which witnessed a hasty retreat by both the President and Secretary of State. It is true that the President, at long last proposed improvements in the Refugee Relief Act, but his own reluctance to take needed administrative action seems to have drained the problem of the urgency he still says exists, three years later.

LABOR: Closer Scrutiny of Pension and Welfare Funds

RICHARD A. LESTER,, professor of economics at Princeton University, has served as adviser to both labor and management in the auto industry on the guaranteed annual wage.

PRACTICALLY all of the labor proposals contained in this year's State of the Union Message are carry-overs from previous Presidential messages which the President passed on to Congress but never pressed. The only new feature—a somewhat incongruous, political gesture—is a request for federal legislation to enforce equal pay for men and women performing comparable work in private industry.

All these are listed under the heading "The response of government to human concerns." In this parochial spirit the President records, "The need still exists for improvement of the Labor Management Relations Act." He adds: "The recommendations I submitted to the Congress last year take into account not only the interests of labor and management but also the public welfare. The needed amendments should be enacted without further delay." The President's party leaders on Capitol Hill w understandably treat this, not as a call for legislative tion in the light of present conditions and developi relationships but as a political gesture permitting Pre dent Eisenhower to claim that he has not forsaken 1952 pledge to eliminate the union-busting provisic from the Taft-Hartley Act.

The law certainly has been effectively amended u der the Eisenhower Administration. But the amendme is of an anti-union nature and is accomplished throu administrative interpretations. In fact, the statute and t pro-employer decisions of the Eisenhower-appointed N tional Labor Relations Board have so obstructed exte sion of unionism to unorganized areas that the percenta of all workers enjoying the benefits of organization h not increased since the 80th Congress enacted Ta Hartley over President Truman's veto eight years ago.

The Eisenhower Administration, like some sections Big Business, clearly is of two minds about unions a collective bargaining. While some Administration spok men are urging labor to participate more actively in t nation's political affairs, others press for additional cur on the political activities of organized labor, and appoi ments to high national and international positions a reserved chiefly for management personnel from lar concerns. Amendments are proposed to encourage ma agements to contest even more vigorously the bargaini status of unions and, by government strike votes, to ch lenge their right of employee representation. Yet s distrust and attacks are accompanied by professions faith in unions and free bargaining.

Working both sides of the street while assumin middle-of-the-road pose has also characterized the ministration's recommendations on expanded industr coverage for the federal minimum wage. Last year, Sen. Paul Douglas pointed out, the Administrati "doubletalked" on this issue, seeking to gain the kuc and avoid the political onus of any expansion, just as later tried to claim credit for the $1-an-hour minim enacted by the Democratic Congress despite Execut Department insistence that 90 cents was the highest fe ible figure.

On one aspect only in the field of labor laws do he ings seem certain and the enactment of new legislation all probable in 1956. "The Administration," Presid Eisenhower declares, "will shortly propose legislation assure adequate disclosure of the financial affairs of e employee pension and welfare plan and to afford subst tial protection to their beneficiaries. . . ." Here need for legislation is generally recognized, for the fur have been multiplying and evidence of abuse in so unions has recently come to light. Substantial press will be felt from the insurance companies however, restrict the legislation, out of fear of general federal r ulation of insurance.

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The Superficial Aspect

Not Red All Over

y the long gray beard of the Prophet, if the *New ork Times* is a radical, or even a conspicuously liberal ewspaper, then Kelly is indubitably a Chinaman!

The most that can be said of the *Times* in that respect , that it is a relatively honest newspaper with some re- ect for its own motto, "All the news that's fit to print." o if the *Times* is under attack by an obscurantist group n Washington, the inference is inescapable that not ierely liberalism, but even common honesty is in dis- vor with that group.

Senator Eastland loudly asserts that it is not the *Times* at his committee is attacking, but Communism in the merican press. Yet when it appears that of 39 wit- esses whose Communist affiliations, past or present, the mmittee has chosen to expose, no less than 32 are or ve been at some time employees of the *Times*, the sonable assumption is that this newspaper must be a bed of Communism. If holding up a newspaper as a tbed of Communism isn't an attack, then the word ust have a special significance. Perhaps Senator East- nd thinks of "attack" as did that reporter on the *Balti- ore Evening Sun* of some 20 years ago; he wrote of a oman whose body was picked up by the side of the ad, that evidence indicated that she had been beaten ith a club and three ribs broken, that one arm had been renched until it was dislocated at the shoulder, that she ad been struck in the face with such force as to knock t several teeth, and that she had been thrown from a eeding automobile; "but," added the reporter, "doctors id that she had not been attacked."

The only rational ground for objecting to the presence Communists in the press, or in the pulpit, or in the ovies, or anywhere else is the danger that they may opagate lying arguments in favor of Communism. But e Eastland committee has not yet presented in evidence ie line from the *Times* that is definitely a Communist but which the newspaper presented as truth.

However, the *Times* has printed plenty of stuff with hich Senator Eastland and his associates do not agree. gregation, for example, has been attacked by the *Times* id although it has nothing to do with Communism, ti-segregation is unpopular in Mississippi. It has attacked McCarthyism, and that is unpopular with Senator Jenner. It has made other attacks that are as remote from Communism as truth is from the Kremlin, but that nevertheless have stung various politicians. So we have at last a clear demonstration of a trend that liberals have been pointing out for years—the assumption that anybody who speaks disrespectfully of a politician is a Communist.

This is a far cry from the old American assumption that whoever speaks disrespectfully of a politician is probably an honest man, and a change in attitude so radical deserves careful examination.

But no more than a cursory glance at this situation is enough to suggest that newspaper publishers have brought it on themselves, at least in part. Perhaps the *Times* should be exempted from the charge. With all its faults, the *Times* has never taken the ground that its news columns should be used for indoctrination, rather than for information. It has allotted space not only to news but also to opinions that were, as Justice Holmes put it, opinions that it loathed and believed fraught with death.

But large numbers of other newspapers have done nothing of the sort. All too many publishers have taken the ground that, although they might occupy a monopoly position, they have not incurred the responsibility that lies upon other monopolies—public utilities, for example —to render adequate service to all customers alike. They have chosen to regard their newspapers as pulpits from which they would preach their own doctrine, permitting no heresy to be uttered on the premises.

If newspaper publishers take that view, why blame politicians for accepting it? But if indoctrination is the mission of a newspaper, then its agents should be carefully screened for their orthodoxy, and if the publishers will not do it, without doubt the politicians will.

In short, indoctrination and information are incompatible ideals; and if indoctrination is the true one, then a newspaper that goes for information exclusively has no rights that politicians are bound to respect.

On the other hand, if honesty is the ideal, then a newspaper that pretends to be a complete medium of information must present to its readers any heresy widespread enough to be significant. Among others, it must present anything that can truthfully be said in behalf of Communism. It cannot do that without some contact with Communists, any more than a doctor of medicine can write authoritatively about leprosy without some contact with lepers.

If honesty is the touchstone, a newspaper is subject to condemnation for every lie that it prints; but the methods by which it obtains the truth, as long as they are legal, are not proper subjects for investigation, much less condemnation. But when publishers themselves seem to doubt that honesty is as important as orthodoxy, they open the way to political interference with their methods as well as with their product. GERALD W. JOHNSON

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BOOKS & COMMENT

The Fantastic World of Professor Tolkien

by Michael Straight

ONE YEAR ago, when the first volume of his trilogy, *The Lord of the Rings,* was published, an Oxford Professor of English Language and Literature cast a spell over the readers who ventured within the world of his creation. It was a haunting and ennobling world, held together by inner tension, and so the spell lasted while the fate of his world remained in doubt. For months the concluding volume was delayed while Professor Tolkien labored with a formidable index listing the lineage of his characters, the origin and pronunciation of their languages, and other footnotes from the Red Book of Westmarch, the source of his tale. Now the last volume, *The Return of the King,* is published, and so his readers may return from the fantastic to the commonplace.

The Hobbit ($2.50), *The Fellowship of the Ring* ($5), *The Two Towers* ($5), *The Return of the King* ($5), by J. R. R. Tolkien (Houghton Mifflin).

Tolkien's trilogy is fantasy, but it stems of course from Tolkien's own experiences and beliefs. There are scenes of devastation that recall his memories of the Western front where he fought in the First World War. The description of a snowstorm in a high pass is drawn from a mountain-climbing trip in Switzerland. And through the descriptions of life in Hobbiton and Bywater runs his own bemused love of the English and his scorn for the ugliness of the industrial surroundings in which they live. But Tolkien shuns satire as frivolous and allegory as tendentious. His preparation is immersion in Welsh, Norse, Gaelic, Scandinavian and Germanic folklore.

The Hobbit, the earliest of Professor Tolkien's selections from the Red Book, was first published in 1937, and I mention it because it forms a prologue to Tolkien's major work. It is the account of his adventures written by a well-to-do Hobbit, Bilbo Baggins of Bag End. There comes to Bilbo's door one morning a wandering wizard (Gandalf) and thirteen dwarves, led by Thorin Oakenshield, the descendent of dwarf kings. They are bent on recovering the dwarf hoards stolen from Thorin's ancestors, and Bilbo to his lasting astonishment joins them. Trolls capture the band and almost roast them; goblins pursue them; giant spiders enmesh them in saliva; an elf king imprisons them; after the treasure is recaptured from a dragon's lair there remains the Battle of the Five Armies in which Thorin is killed. At last Bilbo, decked out in armor, and laden with jewels, return to the Shire, somewhat to the annoyance of his fellow Hobbits who have declared him dead and are preparing to auction off his well-worn furniture.

The Hobbit is a classical fairy story. As such it might well have earned its place on the nursery shelf and been forgotten. But the ending is incomplete, thanks to a minor encounter of Bilbo's whose significance was not clear to Professor Tolkien at the time. Bilbo, crawling alone through dark goblin mines, finds and pockets a small gold ring. Slipped on his finger it makes him invisible and thereby saves him when he is attacked by Gollum, a creature who lives in an underground lake catching blind fish and eating them raw. The ring serves further to hide Bilbo from his enemies but arouses no great interest among his companions. Once back in the Shire he mentions it only to the wizard Gandalf, and to Frodo, his nephew and heir. And yet the story is not concluded. For at its end the little householder remains in possession of something beyond the comprehension of Bilbo and story teller: the ring.

The ring confers power on its bearer. Power unmatched by responsibility corrupts and therefore is potentially evil. The power conferred by the ring is with out parallel. Therefore its capacity t work evil is unlimited. In the presen of limited good, and of corruptible ma what is the responsibility of the rin bearer? Is it to use present evil on b half of present good and thereby to e sure the continuation of evil. Or is to deny present gain in an effort to d stroy evil itself? The question forc itself upon Tolkien over a period fourteen years of warfare, and forms t theme of three books of *The Lord The Rings.*

Like *The Hobbit,* the trilogy is a fai story; it deals in a world of its ow without resort to traveller's tales or dreams. It contains the four elemen which Professor Tolkien maintains a characteristic of fairy stories: *Fanta* (the purest of art forms), *Escape* (fro oppressive and meaningless detail), *R covery* (of true perspective) and *Cons lation* (the joy of the happy ending Beyond these common attributes, ho ever, *The Hobbit* and *The Lord of t Rings* stand in sharp contrast. *The Ho bit* is a fairy tale for children, simplifi in thought and language, restricted scope, jocular and sometimes patron ing in style. As such it is limited, f as Tolkien himself maintains: "All ch dren's books are on a strict judgme poor books. Books written entirely f children are poor even as childre books." *The Lord of the Rings* in co trast is a fairy tale written for adul The language is richer, the charact deeper, the plot grander; the final t umph of good is cast in doubt; the p ticipants are extended to include "th darker things which lurked only on t borders of the earlier tale."

FORTY-NINE years after Bilbo's retu the Hobbits still go their conten ways, as the first book of *The Lord the Rings* opens, unaware of the mou ing evil beyond the Shire's narrow b ders. Orcs—a new kind of goblin—multiplying in the mountains; trolls abroad armed with dreadful weapo there are other creatures far more t rible and over all of them is Saur the Dark Lord of Mordor. Of twelve Great Rings of Power all three have returned to Sauron; one o the Lord of the Rings, remains for moment, beyond his grasp. Sauron searching for the ring, and all thoughts are bent upon it. If he rega

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it his domination of Middle Earth will be final and absolute.

All this is the secret information which Gandalf, after twelve years of search and travels, returns by night to tell Frodo. For, thanks to Bilbo's inheritance the harmless young Hobbit is now in possession of the Lord of the Rings.

Frodo, appalled, attempts to pass the ring to Gandalf. But Gandalf knows that those who possess the ring end by being possessed. And, while he is tempted by power his spirit is one of "pity for weakness, and the desire of strength to do good." So he refuses the responsibility. No time is left for Sauron is closing in on the Shire. Frodo flees to save his homeland, taking the ring and followed by three companions, while Gandalf goes his own way towards their next meeting place. Stone barrow-wights encase the Hobbits; ringwraiths, slaves of Sauron pursue them and wound Frodo. He makes mistake after mistake and survives only through his own bravery or by the intervention of some unexpected force of good. Strider, a ranger sent by Gandalf, guides him, and so at last Frodo reaches Rivendell.

IN Rivendell the Council of Elrond is held and the decision is made to attempt the destruction of the Ring. But this, ancient folklore asserts, can be accomplished only by casting the ring into the fire mountain that rises in Mordor, the fortress of the enemy. The one who will bear it there must be chosen, and after a long silence Frodo whispers, "I will take the ring though I do not know the way." Next from the Free Peoples a fellowship is formed to help the ring-bearer: a man, Boromir, the three Hobbits, an elf, a dwarf, Gandalf and Strider, now revealed as Aragorn, heir of the ancient Kings of the West.

The Fellowship sets out by a hunter's moon, and passes through increasing peril. A snowstorm drives them into Mines of Moria where Gandalf, in battle with a dreadful spirit of the underworld vanishes into an abyss. Aragorn leads the company on to the enchanted beauty of Lothlorien. There no shadow lies, but the reluctant Fellowship moves on. Soon they are surrounded by orcs and still worse the ring begins to work its evil among them. For the unconquered cities around Mordor are under attack from Sauron, and when Boromir realizes that Frodo will not be diverted to their defense, he attempts in a moment of madness to seize the ring. Then, at the end of the first volume, Frodo realizes that he must continue alone. He slips on the ring and escapes, followed only by his gardener, Sam.

So the Fellowship is broken. Aragorn, aided by Gandalf, now returned from the dead, leads the company in desperate battles against the present forces of Sauron. Frodo, battling evil itself, is lost with Sam on the barren slopes of the Emyn Muil. There Gollum, who once held the ring, overtakes and plots to kill them. Frodo, instead is empowered to kill Gollum, but he remembers his own protest to Gandalf, and Gandalf's answer:

> "What a pity Bilbo did not stab the vile creature when he had a chance!"
>
> "Pity? It was Pity that stayed his hand."
>
> "I do not feel any pity for Gollum. He deserves death."
>
> "Deserves death! I daresay he does. Many that live deserve death. And some die that deserve life. Can you give that to them? Then be not too eager to deal out death in the name of Justice . . . even the wise cannot see all ends."

So Gollum is spared, to guide Frodo and then betray him. Thus as the second volume closes, Sam is forced to abandon his master and, bearing the ring, to move on into Mordor alone.

But Frodo survives, and in the third volume while the Fellowship wages a climactic battle to occupy the attention of Sauron, he accomplishes the impossible. The battle is won, the wounded remain, beyond hope of healing. But folklore proclaims: *The hands of the King are the hands of a healer and so shall the rightful King be known.* Aragorn returns from the battle, and *by healing* earns his place as King. The Fellowship is reunited and parts in peace. The new age begins.

Its promise exceeds the wildest hopes of the heroes. But it is not for all to enjoy. "I thought you were going to enjoy the Shire too after all you have done," cries Sam to Frodo, whose old wound will not heal.

> So I thought once too [Frodo answers]. But I have been too deeply hurt, Sam. I tried to save the Shire, and it has been saved, but not for me. It must be often so Sam when things are in danger: someone has to give them up, to lose them so that others may keep them.

So Frodo departs leaving Sam to raise a family and the reader to reflect on the meaning of Tolkien's tale.

And of course it contains meaning. *The Lord of the Rings* is primarily story telling, but the universality and the timeliness of its plot give to it allegorical significance.

It is the struggle of good and evil that Tolkien sets apart, through fantasy, from superficial detail. Evil in the form of Sauron, is man's rebellion against Providence, his attempt to become the lord of a world he did not make. For he who starts by forcing his will upon others ends by destroying everything that he touches. Gollum is also evil, but not beyond redemption. He is the servant of power, spared out of pity, in order that the compassion of the Hobbits may enable them to surmount the insurmountable. For evil is matched and overcome not by superior power, but by the determination and the goodness of ordinary beings, ennobled by the assumption of burdens beyond their capacity to bear. Gandalf is brilliant and Aragorn brave, but Frodo's is the decisive will. And yet for all his achievements, Frodo remains unchanged. For Tolkien's purpose is not that Hobbits should cease to be Hobbits; it is simply that they should understand and give their best.

GANDALF is the instrument of Providence, but a strange sort of instrument. His power is limited and less than Sauron's; his interventions are decisive but rare; frequently he is absent when he is most needed. He is forbidden to dominate. For in the First and Second Ages of Tolkien's world the gods interfered in man's fate and so obscured it; in the Third Age their emissary is present, but as a helper only. The Age ends with the destruction of the ring, and the time of man's dominion begins. So when Frodo and the High Kindred, whose time has also passed, step onto the ship that bears them to the Grey Havens, Gandalf is also on board.

> Anyone inheriting the fantastic device of human language can say *The Green Sun.* Many can then imagine or picture it. But that is not enough. . . . To make a secondary world inside which the Green Sun will be credible, commanding Secondary Belief will . .

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demand a special skill, a kind of elvish craft. Few attempt such difficult tasks. But when they are attempted, and in any degree accomplished, then we have a rare achievement of Art . . . indeed story telling in its primary and most potent mode.

This standard, set by Tolkien in his contribution to the *Essays Presented to Charles Williams*, is met in his own work. He possesses elvish craft. He adds to it the scholar's perspective and the humanist's faith. And yet he never allows the magical balance of mystery and perception to be lost. For these reasons his world of fantasy is more gripping than the events that occur next door, say at *Ten North Frederick*. For Tolkien's fantasy does not obscure, but illuminates the inner consistency of reality. There are very few works of genius in recent literature. This is one.

Buber: Philosopher of the Dialogic Life

by Will Herberg

MARTIN BUBER is one of the great creative forces in contemporary religion. Since 1937, most of his major writings have appeared in English, and have had wide circulation. Now Maurice S. Friedman has come forward with a full-scale study of the man and his thought, a systematic presentation of virtually every aspect of the Jewish philosopher's thinking. But it is more than that; it is also a sustained commentary on his most important writings, and a persuasive effort to communicate a sense of the man's greatness and contemporary relevance. It is a work of scholarship, but also of love and discipleship, and it gains immensely from the combination.

Martin Buber: The Life of Dialogue, by Maurice S. Friedman (Chicago; $6).

Martin Buber's thinking, especially in its later phases, falls in with the general movement of religious existentialism—indeed, he is one of the main contemporary sources of the movement—but the particular direction he has given it unquestionably reflects the profound originality of his mind as well as the specifically Jewish sources of his spirituality. The heart of Buber's teaching is that "real life is meeting." Buber makes a radical distinction between the two fundamental types of relation, of which men are capable. These basic attitudes are expressed in the "primary words" I-Thou and I-It, understood as referring not to the object, but to the character of the relation itself. The "primary word" I-Thou points to a relation of person to person, of subject to subject, a relation of reciprocity involving "meeting" or "encounter," while the "primary word" I-It points to a relation of person to thing, of subject to object, involving some form of utilization, domination, or control, even if it is only so-called "objective" knowing. The I-Thou relation, which Buber usually designates as "relation" *par excellence,* is one in which man can enter only with the whole of his being. The I-It relation, on the other hand, is one that man enters not with the wholeness of his being, but only with part of it.

It is in the I-Thou relation that the person in his authentic personality—what Kierkegaard calls the "Single One"—emerges: "Through the *Thou* a man becomes an *I.*" The primal reality, in which man achieves his real being, is the "between man and man." The self is social by nature; its very "essence" is interpersonal. As against the "social humanists," such as George Herbert Mead, for whom interpersonal relations are limited simply to relations among human beings, as well as against Kierkegaard, who insists that the self must have nothing essentially to do except with itself and God, Buber affirms that the fundamental relation is *triadic*—the self, God, and one's neighbor. Real relationship with other human beings is possible only in terms of a real relationship with God, while "real relationship with God cannot be achieved on earth if real relationships to the world and mankind are lacking." The triadic relation of K., the Castle, and the Village in Kafka's *The Castle* will occur to the reader.

Of course, such is the world that man's attitude cannot permanently be cast in the I-Thou relation. To survive, we need to know, control, and use *things* and what is much more important, *human beings;* in other words to survive, we must engage in depersonalizing and dehumanizing our fellowmen. This is a poignant expression of the "wrongness," the "broken" character, of actual existence in this world. Yet however inescapable, the I-It relation must remain subordinate; it is the predominance, not the mere existence of the I-It that is the source of evil. "Without It," Buber says, "man cannot live; but he who lives with It alone is not a man . . . Real life is meeting."

Buber's thinking is profoundly religious, for he sees man as essentially oriented to God, and life as a "summons and a sending." Every man has his unique being as a gift from God, and it is his responsibility to realize it in its wholeness. "In the world to come," so runs a celebrated saying of the Hasidic rabbi Zusya, quoted by Buber, "they will not ask me, 'Why were you not Moses? They will ask me, 'Why were you not Zusya?' " ("The great thing," Kierkegaard once remarked, "is not to be this or that, but to be oneself. . . .") Such authenticity of being is possible only in the dialogic life in which man meets God and his fellow man in the fulness of the I-Thou. The divine demand is not something imposed from without, running counter to man's being; nor is it simply man giving the law unto himself in sheer self-will. It is, Buber insists, in a vein that brings to mind Paul Tillich's recent writings, a "true autonomy [which] is one with true theonomy . . . The law is not thrust upon man; it rests deep within him, to waken when the call comes." The call comes in the midst of life. "God speaks to man in the things and beings he sends him in life. Man answers through his dealings with these things and beings." Religious man is dialogical man, the man "who commits his whole being in God's dialogue with the world and who stands firm throughout this dialogue."

IT IS obvious that Buber's God is not the God of the philosophers or of the mystics. It is not a God that can be

> inferred in anything—in nature, say, as its author, or in history as its master, or in the subject as the self that is thought in it. Something else is not "given" and God then elicited from it

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God is the Being that is directly, most nearly, and lastingly over against us, . . nearer to me than my *I*.

But neither is God the mystic's "dineness" with which the self is to be ıited in undifferentiated being. Our ıcounter with God is intensely perıal, and remains personal to the very ıd. In the last analysis, the God to hom Buber bears witness, who is of ›urse the God of the Bible, the God Jewish-Christian faith, is a God that nay properly be addressed, not ex-essed."

NOR is Buber's religion in any sense a *cult of reassurance. All thought of* ıal security in religion, whether such curity is philosophical, social psychogical, moral, or even religious, is reıgnant to him. He preaches instead a ıoly insecurity," life on the "narrow dge." "O you secure and safe ones," exclaims,

you who hide yourselves behind the amparts of the law [or of theology, or of ethics] so that you will not have o look into God's abyss! Yes, you ıave secure ground under your feet, while we hang suspended looking out over endless deeps. But we would not xchange our dizzy insecurity and povrty for your security and abundance. . . Of God's will we know only the ternal; the temporal we must comnand for ourselves, ourselves imprint ıis wordless bidding ever anew on the stuff of reality. . . . In genuine life ›etween men, the new world will reveal itself to us. First we must act; hen we shall receive—from out of our ›wn deed.

Buber's whole outlook is existential—'he man who thinks existentially [is] e man who stakes his life on his think-g"—and situational. Primary for him the concrete here and now, and the sponsibility of decision in the unique e situation, in the "lived moment" in ıich the meeting with God takes place. Ie who goes out to meet the world th the wholeness of his being meets ›d."

His "existential" approach has made ber deeply sensitive to the predica-nt of modern man, whom he sees as ffering from the double alienation of melessness in the universe and homesness in his human world. "The man today," Buber knows, "has no access a sure solid faith, nor can it be made essible to him . . . [yet] he is not denied the possibility of holding himself open to faith. . . ." It is to this "man of today" that Buber speaks.

Buber's protest against depersonalization and "thingification" through the dominance of the I-It at the expense of true "relation" takes on particular relevance for our time in his social philosophy. True community, Buber holds, emerges out of the I-Thou. "Only men who are capable of truly saying Thou *to* one another can truly say We *with* one another." And just as the I of authentic personality emerges only in the dialogic "meeting" with God to which every other Thou points, so does the authentic We come forth only out of the relation of the individual members of the group to the transcendent. It is this radial relation to the living Center that makes true community.

In his affirmation of true community, Buber rejects atomistic individualism and totalitarian collectivism:

> Individualism understands only part of man, collectivism understands man only as a part: neither advances to the wholeness of man. Individualism sees man only in relation to himself, but collectivism does not see man at all; it sees "society."

As against both individualism (capitalism) and collectivism (Soviet Communism, West European state socialism), Buber raises the vision of an "organic community" built out of "small and ever smaller communities," the basic cell of which is the "full co-operative," best exemplified in the Israeli *kibbutz*. Thus Buber's religious socialism falls in line with the "communitarian" ideas that have played so large a part in Catholic social radicalism, and with some trends in recent Protestant social thinking as well. But establishing true community seems to Buber preeminently a Jewish task, which the Jew can adequately cope with only under conditions of economic and political autonomy in the land appointed for the work: this is the ground of Buber's religio-social Zionism.

Buber is no simple utopian. He knows that whatever may be true for Palestine, one cannot reorganize a large-scale economy, such as the American, along *kibbutz* lines; he is here presenting not a blueprint, but, as he puts it, a direction and a goal. Much more serious is the challenge to the very desirability of the kind of "full co-operation" Buber envisages; there are those who charge, and a good deal of Israeli experience would

"The Lyf So Short . . ."

I HAVE lived in that room bigger than the world,
cage in gold, corona in the dark,
where Chaucer let the pen go its quiet work
netting Criseyde, weeping as he wrote.

That man in the monk's hood climbs through flower stems
looking up at me his condemned man's look:
on secret pilings an imagined tide goes out,
over the sky go padding feet.

It is hard while we circle these ultimate things
not to put a hand on the other man's sleeve
and begin the chant of recantation—
for right now, in art, it is time for release,

While we are forced backward into our dreams.
We are all sons of medieval kings;
"O alma redemptoris" is a grain on our tongue,
but no saint's hand can pluck the pain from us:—

Today we have to stand in absolute pain
and face whatever comes from God,
or stoop to smooth the earth over little things
that went into dirt, out of the world.

WILLIAM STAFFORD

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seem to bear them out, that the very "fulness" of the "full co-operative," embracing the "whole life of society," carries within itself the seeds of totalism, and constitutes a threat both to personal privacy and to real community. This grave question does not seem, so far, to have aroused Buber's concern.

Nor is Buber a pacifist or anarchist, as some have tried to make him out to be. He is indeed deeply suspicious of the centralized state, and sometimes tends too simply to identify the "social" principle with "free fellowship and association" and the "political" principle with "compulsion and coercion"; but basically he recognizes that "in all probability, there will never, so long as man is what he is, be freedom pure and simple, and there will be State, that is, compulsion, for just so long." He warns against using evil means for good ends, particularly violence to achieve peace; but he recognizes that living entails doing injustice, that "in order to preserve the community of man, we are sometimes compelled to accept wrongs in decisions concerning the community," and acknowledges that "if there is no other way of preventing the evil destroying the good, I trust I shall use force and give myself up to God's hands."

Obviously, true community, as Buber understands, will never be achieved in history, but it is that for which man is intended, and it remains relevant—not as an "ideal," but as a reality—to every actual situation. Buber's emphasis is one for which we should be particularly grateful today, when we are all tempted to think of the centralized and highly politicalized "welfare state," resting on a large-scale, highly industrialized, mass-production economy, as the last word in social achievement.

Maurice Friedman's study succeeds well in bringing out the stature of the man and the depth and relevance of his thought. Not that the book is without its faults. Some of Mr. Friedman's interpretations could be disputed, and one or two of his judgments questioned. Somewhat more disturbing, to me at least, is Mr. Friedman's abstention from critical comment. There is no adulation in this work of a disciple, but neither is there any criticism. A less infallible Buber might prove a more convincing one.

But these are, after all, minor flaws in the context of the whole. Maurice Friedman has done a difficult pioneer work extraordinarily well. His presentation is comprehensive, clear, and thoroughly documented; his style vigorous and effective. He really understands Buber and is able to communicate his understanding to his readers. His book deserves careful study by everyone interested in the intellectual and spiritual life of our time.

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Never a Dull Moment

by Doris Fleeson

ERNEST CUNEO reminds us in *Life With Fiorello* that politics can be fun. It certainly was for those associated with the three-time Mayor of New York, although an occasional episode requires the help of the gloss of time to be seen humorously. For La-

Life With Fiorello, by Ernest Cuneo (Macmillan; $4).

Guardia could be brutal too.

But never dull. Mr. Cuneo tells us that he decided to write his book—it is a highly informal memoir actually—after attending the first of those interminable luncheons of the LaGuardia Memorial Association at which good government awards are shoveled out.

I was there too, for my sins. I even spoke, pleading in extenuation that I was brief. It was hideously boring and as Mr. Cuneo points out, LaGuardia would have wasted about 1.1 minute on it. He practised the in-and-out technique for such big-shotting, as he called it.

That lovely gusto which Al Smith and Franklin Roosevelt also brought to the same trade has been attenuated by the refined or hair shirt school now in vogue. Politics is noble, "rightly practised," that is, by the speaker, who happened to be Eisenhower in 1948 when he wasn't ever going to engage in it. It is a public service. It is a sacrifice. It is everything but the kind of thing that excites and interests people, teaches them what the hell is going on anyway and makes them eager to take part.

Mr. Cuneo feels so strongly about all this that he took time off from very much more profitable pursuits, chiefly a Wall Street law practise, to set down the Fiorello he knew and cherished. He had entered the LaGuardia office during the depression, fresh out of law school; in fact he had crashed it through a mutual friend, Lowell Limpus of *The New York Daily News*. No amount of later sophistication has dimmed his awed appreciation of The Master.

He discloses too—sometimes it almost seems reluctantly—that LaGuardia possessed an incredible number of solid, indeed bourgeois, virtues — he even worked hard—not to mention the valuable attribute of brains. But then both men had Italian forbears and it is made clear that these were from the north, a contribution on which no outsider has better comment.

Both men plainly enjoyed behaving as they felt the Italian operatic tradition permitted. It has not prevented Mr. Cuneo from getting down to business nor did it prevent LaGuardia. In New York City it probably helped LaGuardia. It is my own conviction that it in part kept the rest of the country from appreciating his remarkable abilities, but that Al Smith had the same trouble.

Life With Fiorello is a book to be enjoyed. Then, run, don't walk, to the nearest exit and try to find more recruits for politics who will make it live—short sentences, please.

Notes on Contributors

WILL HERBERG is editing a forthcoming collection of Martin Buber's theological writings. DR. HENRY A. DAVIDSON is Assistant Superintendent of the Essex County Overbrook Hospital in New Jersey. DORIS FLEESON was a newspaper reporter in New York City during LaGuardia's mayoralty, and is now a nationally syndicated columnist. WILLIAM STAFFORD is an American poet

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THEATRE

was praised recently for having said at there was too much homosexu-ity in current plays, but what I ac-ally said was that there was not ough. Having gone so far, our play-ights will have to go further; having ought up the subject, they must now y something about it, and not snatch back out of our hands in the last ne with a speech or two about the ckedness of false accusation. *Third rson* comes as a partial answer to my ayer.

The story is this. It is 1947. In a use in the East Sixties live an architect d his wife and little daughter. A unger man who had been the archi-t's buddy in the marines has settled as an uninvited but not unwelcome use guest. An ageing homosexual,

ird Person, by Andrew Rosenthal (President).

spish and witty, is attracted by the ung man but, getting nowhere, decides fix him. He tells the architect's wife t she has in Kip (the younger man) ival for her husband's love and that s rival is a neurotic from way back. ere follow the three necessary scenes ife and Kip; wife and husband; hus-d and Kip) in which we learn that p is indeed a rival and, if the wife ists on having it that way, a conscious d aggressive one; that the husband, wever, has not had sexual relations h the boy and denies to his wife and nself that there is anything "like that" the friendship; he accordingly slaps p's face and tells him to get out. I nder if my readers can guess how the y ends? It is easy to think up one of se morally ambiguous and theatri-ly sure-fire endings that make people k something has been said that is h important and kosher. For exam- (lest anyone suspect me of bluff): can get Kip in bed with the wife and re" him. Or (more subtle, this one) can re-name the play Close Shave, d Kip packing, and bring down the tain on the marriage bed, which is e again to be put to its proper use his; after all, 100% American home. again . . . but no, let me report what Mr. Rosenthal does. When Kip re-appears with his overcoat on, the husband suddenly doesn't want him to leave any more, apologizes, cajoles. Kip leaves, but only just: he says he may be weak enough to phone soon asking to come back; he tells the husband not to answer. The wife is pretty decent about things, wants her husband, her child, her home, and suggests a snack in the kitchen. The phone rings. Exit wife to kitchen. The phone keeps ringing. Will the husband pick up? Yes. Yes, he's just going to. He stops. No. No, he's going down to the kitchen. Curtain.

Summaries cut plays down so; a fact from which one of my colleagues has derived the theory and practice of his criticism.

Let me make it clear that I admire Mr. Rosenthal's ending. The use of the telephone, to be sure, is too much of a trick, but on stage that never greatly matters if the point being made is humanly sound. And this one is. The crude device gives a subtle definition to the husband's state of mind. He has just admitted to his wife and himself that Kip is the one great love of his life, so, actually, Mr. Rosenthal's chance of a *kitsch* ending was not the marriage bed but romantic, homosexual elopement. It is out of respect for truth, rather than dramatic critics, that he sends the husband to the kitchen.

The style Mr. Rosenthal has adopted is a simple, uninflated prose, concise and witty. One admires above all else in the show the sustaining of a low-pitched yet intense and intelligent dialogue. I liked it best in the serious scenes, particularly in Kip's speeches, but I wouldn't discount the attempt to set the drama against a background of upper-class tittle tattle, somewhat on the lines of Maugham's *Circle.*

At times, the dramaturgy creaks. The wife has to have a confidant, and Mr. Rosenthal hasn't been able to provide anything but a cliché for the purpose: one of those sassy, well-dressed old maids that are so dear to the New York audience. More important, when one accepts the play as the serious document that it is, one cannot but wish it were even more serious. Too many crucial questions are left unanswered. A play in which we are told that a married couple haven't slept together in six months should make much clearer to us the sexual constitution of all the leading characters. It seems that the husband has had intercourse with no one for six months; Kip for a matter of years. The only thing that would make these facts credible is explanation; and none is provided. In this respect the play is not "too clinical," as has been alleged; it isn't clinical enough. Though going much further in honesty than other Broadway treatments of the homosexual theme, it does not go the whole way, and, in fact, through lack of candor about the primitive sexual needs of human beings, ends up—quite unintentionally, I imagine—as a defense of platonic friendship against sex Such a notion is an evasion of the issue: homosexuality is validated on the condition that it isn't sexual!

On the other hand, there *is* something to the charge of "too clinical" if it means that the view of human beings taken by Mr. Rosenthal is too narrowly psychiatric. His subject, it is true, invites such narrowness: our friends of the East Sixties, being all too often without serious religion, art, or politics, may have nothing to occupy them but neuroses. But this is no alibi for an author, who can only portray people by standing at a distance from them—at a distance and, I would say, on an eminence. His richer sense of life must be implicit in his picture of their spiritual poverty.

I think Mr. Rosenthal makes something of an effort in this direction through Kip, yet, though this is the title role, the identification of the author and audience is, rather, with the husband; and, as is the way with such characters, the husband remains both too rudimentary and too vague. He says he loves Kip because Kip is the only person who ever needed him (which is too pat an explanation), while the character of his longing for the boy is only rendered in crude symbols, like Rupert Brooke's poetry and talks on mountain tops. . . .

Bill Butler's production is a masterpiece of tact, and Mr. Butler was ably abetted by his cast, particularly Murray Matheson who paints a subtly and sharply correct portrait of a dangerous male spinster and Bradford Dillman (Kip), virtually the star of the show, who solves the problem of "playing a homosexual" the right way—that is, by ignoring it.

ERIC BENTLEY

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A Psychiatrist Comments

Our "General" Hospitals

In a previous column (NR, November 14, 1955), Dr. Davidson commented that statistics don't give the correct score on the prevalence of mental illness in the US: "The sad fact is that any one who quotes incidence figures for neurosis, is talking through his hat." Here, he suggests that by closing their doors to psychiatric patients, a large majority of our "general" hospitals are not general enough.

It could happen to you. A mother, a wife, a friend plunges into acute melancholy, is tormented with thoughts of suicide. Swift hospitalization is the only alternative to self destruction. You shrink from the state hospital, not because of the stigma—you are too sophisticated for that—but because it is so far from town, and because a commitment is necessary.

So you ask yourself: if psychosis is sickness, why not the general hospital right in town? I have Blue Cross so it won't cost me as much as the $200 a week private "sanitarium." There is no stigma attached to the local hospital. Visiting is convenient. No elaborate commitment routine is necessary.

Why not?

In some cities you can do just that. In some cities there is a general hospital with a psychiatric service. Here patients with psychotic disorders may be kept and *treated*—with the accent on treatment, not custody. Here, a patient in an acute depression may receive electronic therapy. And 90 percent of all depressions yield to this technique. Maybe the electronic treatment will not uproot the basic conflict. But it *will* (nearly always) wipe out the depression, remove the risk of suicide, and make the patient accessible to psychotherapy.

And if psychotherapy is safe (though in many psychoses, psychotherapy is hazardous), that too can be given in a general hospital as well as in a mental hospital.

Yes, in a dozen cities you *can* find a psychiatric treatment bed in a general hospital. But in most places you cannot. Actually, 94 percent of all the general hospitals in the country will not knowingly accept a psychiatric patient, except maybe for brief detention.

So, most of the time you have to send your relative to the state hospital unless you are in the top income bracket and can afford the plush private mental institution. State hospitals are all right. They do magnificent work under absurdly difficult conditions. They have made more progress in the past quarter century than most other government installations. But, they should not have to take the acute psychotic, the patient whose mental disorder is transient, the patient whose recovery can be effected within a few weeks. And they should not have to accept neurotics.

Why won't our general hospitals accept mental patients? I can give you a dozen rationalizations but there is only one reason: prejudice.

The usual rationalizations are: (1) Mental patients are noisy. Most of them are *not* noisy, however. The average maternity ward is far noisier than the typical psychiatric ward; (2) Mental patients constitute a suicide risk. They are, however, more of a suicide risk outside the hospital than in; and in actual practice, successful suicides are as common, or as rare, in mental wards as in medical-surgical wards; (3) Acceptance of mental patients produces legal hazards. But most patients in such sections would be voluntary patients, not committed ones. In fact, the general hospital might make it a rule to admit only voluntary patients so that there would be no legal problem. If commitment became necessary, the patient could be transferred to a state hospital or — hopefully — the general hospital would break down and accept a commitment once in a while; (4) Patients may get violent. Most mental patients are meek, not violent. The raving maniac is rare, and with today's armamentarium of drugs and physical methods, can be tranquilized swiftly; (5) It costs too much money. This is complete nonsense. Psychiatric wards or sections are always filled up and actually make money—sometimes lots of it—for th hospital.

The hospital itself profits in ma ways—not just in money—by acceptii emotionally sick patients. It increas the institution's usefulness and value the community. It enriches its trainii program for interns, nurses and st doctors. It opens new research vist It makes a psychiatric staff easily ava able for consultation in the medic surgical and obstetrical wards. (A don't let any one tell you that thc wards don't need psychiatric consul tion). It makes the hospital a potent center for public education in all aspe of mental hygiene from psychothera to personnel guidance.

But prejudice dies hard, and in m places the controlling board is hostile the idea of establishing a psychiat service within the hospital. One bo member told me that he had voi against such a proposal because he v sure it would give the institution a l name. He feared that the proposed bed psychiatric section would make public think that whole 300-bed h pital was a psychiatric institution! I he was willing to make one magnific concession. He would vote for building of a strong room on each fl to house mental patients. I never co persuade him that what was needed a treatment facility not a detent station.

Usually a proposed "improveme hurts some people as it helps others, the theory that you can never get so thing for nothing. But the developm of psychiatric beds in general hospi would be one of those exquisitely changes that would hurt no one help thousands.

And besides, any institution that c itself a "general" hospital cannot m that adjective if it excludes one of commonest of all disorders. It is, put it bluntly, a fraud on the publi boast of a "general" hospital if it i general.

I heard one not-too-bright supe tendent tell his chief of staff the o day: "We don't want any dam neurotics cluttering up *our* wards, we?"

To which the chief of staff answe "Brother, whether you know it or you've got them."

HENRY A. DAVIDSON,

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CORRESPONDENCE

► The American Adam

SIRS:

It is regrettable that Mr. Kenneth Lynn, in his review of Richard Lewis's *The American Adam* (*NR*, December 9), spent so much space indignantly tabulating misprints and errors of chronology that he left little room for an analysis of the book itself. I do not say that Mr. Lynn should have praised *The American Adam* if he didn't like it, but surely a serious reviewer would have felt obliged to offer more informative comment about its scope and quality.

Mr. Lynn's principal criticism of Lewis is that he ignores the spokesmen for the "past" in his "intellectual history," that he neglects Poe and Irving, and that the alleged "dialogue" between the Party of Hope and the Party of Memory is in reality a monologue. It seemed to me that Lewis (who was not writing intellectual history or a book on the American character) suggested that the inter-play between the past and future, evil and innocence, the tragic and the optimistic, might occur within the mind of a single writer like Hawthorne or Melville or the elder James. He does not say that the vision of Adamic innocence was ever unsullied by doubt nor does he, in my opinion, slight the spokesman for tradition. . . . With all respect to Mr. Lynn, his review reads as if he had yielded himself to some unexamined antipathy.

DANIEL AARON

Northampton, Mass.

• • •

SIRS:

Isn't it about time for the *New Republic* to suggest that some of its critics take their passions to Stillman's Gym and start engaging the books rather than their authors.

My unease about the existing state of affairs started to stir when I read Alfred Kazin's review of Leslie Fiedler's *An End to Innocence* last summer. I have great affection for Kazin and some observations about the Fiedler book. But Fiedler's errors—if they are errors—are those of a sensitive, worried man and not of an enemy of the light. I should think the last 30 years—if they have done nothing else—had taught us distaste for the concept of *thoughtcrime*. We are gradually killing it in our political dialogue, but these academicians keep rattling their pens as though they were bazookas. There is, after all, such a thing as grace; I think an editor owes it to as valuable and respected a critic as Kazin to suggest that the public spectacle of grace abandoned demeans him. This sort of thing is not lively; the critic who indulges it is false to his calling and his product, more often than not, is soggy, embarrassing, and beneath his own high standard.

Kenneth Lynn's review of R. W. B. Lewis' *The American Adam* has moved my unease to outright panic. I confess myself a friend of Lewis' and an admirer of his work. But it is certainly not holy writ to me. A critic has, of course, a right to devote most of his space to a listing of small errors in chronology if that kind of thing enrages him, although I reserve my right to assess the literary sensibility to which this sort of thing is important. But, when I find Mr. Lynn carrying his passion for the inconsequential to the apparent outright invention of a minor mistake about Parkman I defy him to show me in Lewis' book, I can only conclude that he is too far gone in spite and malice to serve as critic at all.

These people have no duty to be neutral; but, if they're not, they owe it to us to engage the work they're assigned to engage and not invent a punching bag. They ought at least to get close enough to the writer to hit him. I have just finished reading a review of my own new book by R. P. Blackmur. It is, in essence, the worst notice I got. But, it is so engaged, so intimate, so close to the core of conversation that, when I finished reading it, I had a sense of wonder and affection for its marvelous humanity. The great critics are kind as the great tragedies are gay. And those of us who do not have their capacities can at least profit from their manners.

MURRAY KEMPTON

New York City

► Heart Attacks

SIRS:

Your roundup of survival and mortality statistics on post-coronary patients (*NR*, January 2) is most interesting. *NR* readers may find this statement by Dr. Henry Kirkland, Chief Medical Director of Prudential Insurance Company, in the December 1, 1955 issue of *The New York State Journal of Medicine* something to ponder about. Says Dr. Kirkland, "It must be recognized that basically the occurrence of a documented acute coronary episode is of extremely serious moment. Sudden death is frequent. Death within a few months is common. It is only when the patient enters the third year that his chances of survival begin to brighten appreciably." Here, too, as with the *NR* statistics, Dr. Kirkland's comment does not take into consideration the burden of the Presidency of the United States.

ALLEN KLEIN

Mount Vernon, N.Y.

► Warren's Quietest Campaign

SIRS:

I subscribed to the *New Republic* several weeks ago and just received my second issue. To my great surprise, I learned that in 1952 Earl Warren "ran a colorless campaign for the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with Thomas Dewey whom he neither liked nor greatly admired." The next time you have some space to fill, I suggest that you let us have more details on the 1952 campaign as most of us are under the impression that Eisenhower and Nixon ran against Stevenson and Sparkman that year. Perhaps Dewey and Warren ran on the Vegetarian or Prohibition ticket.

JOHN R. GOULD

Vero Beach, Florida

Apologies. The wish was father to the thought. M.S.

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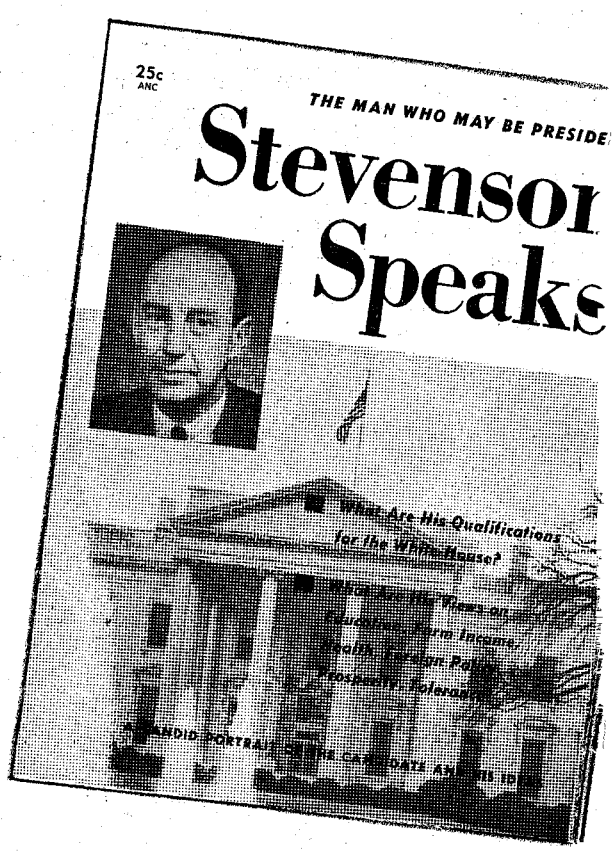

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